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DISCOVERIES AT EPHESUS

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TEMPLE OF DIANA.

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DISCOVERIES AT EPHESUS

INCLUDING THE

SITE AND REMAINS OF THE GREAT TEMPLE OF DIANA

BY

J. T. WOOD, F.S.A.

FELLOW OF THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF BRITISH ARCHITECTS

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS

FROM ORIGINAL DRAWINGS AND PHOTOGRAPHS

LONDON

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.

1877

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DEDICATION

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HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN

This Book is Dedicated

WITH THE GREATEST RESPECT

TO

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE ARTHUR

DUKE OF CONNAUGHT AND STRATHEARNE

DUKE OF SAXONY, PRINCE OF COBURG AND GOTHA, K.G. K.T. K.P. G.C.M.G. ETC.

IN REMEMBRANCE OF THE VISIT OF HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS TO EPHESUS,

AND OF A FEW BRIGHT DAYS DURING WHICH THE AUTHOR HAD THE HONOUR

AND THE PLEASURE OF ACCOMPANYING HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS TO

MITYLENE, PERGAMOS, AND ASSOS

IN THE YEAR 1865

INTRODUCTION.

THE OBJECT of the work which I now offer to the public is to lay before it a narrative of the discoveries at Ephesus, and the results of the excavations which were carried on, for nearly eleven years, under the auspices of the Trustees of the British Museum.

My chief purpose in undertaking the excavations, which were commenced in 1863, was to find the remains of the Great Temple of Diana which had been buried for so many centuries. All trace of it above ground had disappeared, and many even doubted whether such a building ever existed.

It was desirable that for any sums of money expended by the Trustees there should be some substantial return. The Odeum and the Great Theatre were therefore first of all explored. The results of these explorations were so satisfactory that I was permitted, in the year 1867, to devote a small portion of a fresh grant to my search for the Temple. Further discoveries of interest were then made, which justified the expenditure of a larger sum in continuing the search. After six years of toil, and at a time when the Trustees considered that there was little or no hope of success, I most fortunately hit upon the corner of the peribolus wall, containing inscrip-

tions which placed beyond doubt the fact that the approximate site of the Temple was at last discovered. Sufficient sums of money were then granted by the Trustees to complete the discovery, and this was accomplished before the expiration of that year (1869). From that time till April 1874 the explorations on the site of the Temple were continued from season to season, until it was cleared for a considerable distance beyond the lowest step of the platform on which the last Temple had been raised. The results of this work, which cost about 12,000*l.*, comprised the discovery of a large number of valuable blocks of sculpture and architecture, and of other antiquities, consisting chiefly of the remains of the last Temple. A small number only of these can at present be exhibited to the public, for want of space in our Museum.

The total cost of the excavations from first to last was 16,000*l.*

In addition to the narrative of my work at Ephesus, I have appended a selection from the numerous Greek and Latin inscriptions which were discovered in the excavations. I could not have published these without the kind assistance which I have had from many scholars, especially as I have ventured to print translations of the majority of them. They must, however, be considered in a manner as tentative, especially as the text contains many novelties and a great number of difficult passages, which require more time than could be spent upon them for this work. I have ventured also to adopt a new mode of indicating the restored portions of the

inscriptions: considering that brackets displace the letters of the text, disjoint the words, and create confusion. Every letter which does not actually exist on the stones has been carefully underlined: by this means there is no displacement, and the inscriptions can be more easily read than they could have been if intercepted by brackets.

I have to thank Mr. NEWTON, keeper of the Greek and Roman antiquities in the British Museum, for allowing me, and several of the scholars who have assisted me, free access to the room in the basement where the inscriptions are now placed, and also for his occasional assistance in reading the text. I append a list of the names of those scholars who have so kindly and materially aided me with the text and translations, some of whom, in addition to wholly deciphering and translating certain inscriptions, have given me valuable advice and assistance in respect to others.

I am also greatly indebted to the eminent epigraphist and archæologist Monsieur WADDINGTON, now French Minister of Public Instruction, for many valuable suggestions in respect to the inscriptions; and I take this opportunity of making my most grateful acknowledgments to all who have assisted me.

J. T. WOOD.

LONDON: *October* 1876.

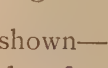
ADDENDA.

In Part II. Chap. 6, p. 258, I have described a drain discovered in the foundations of the altar, which I suppose was employed to carry away the water used in washing the surface of the altar after sacrifice. I do not here mean to imply that bullocks and rams were slaughtered upon the altar in the naos of the Temple, but that, after *the offering of the sacrifice* in the Temple, the altar must have been repeatedly cleansed by water. The ritual of the worship of Artemis is unknown ; but we gather some facts from ancient writers which enlighten us on the subject to a certain degree, and especially in reference to the sacrifice. From these it is fair to conclude that beasts were slaughtered at altars in front of Temples, and that small portions of the flesh, and perhaps basins of the blood, were carried into the Temple and offered to the deity upon the great altar, the flesh being put upon some small pieces of wood with which a fire was made. If the smoke ascended freely, the offering was supposed to be accepted : and here we have one of several reasons for concluding that temples were in part absolutely open to the sky. The sculptured block, representing the winged figure of a man leading a ram, found at the west end of the Temple of Diana, had probably formed part of one of the external altars in front of the Temple. In this position it was found. Professor Paley has kindly furnished me with the following note, in illustration of the manner in which the sacrifice was made :—

'It appears probable that the sacrifice of animals, and the burning of the portions of meat on the altar, were performed in the court (*αὐλὴ*) in front of the temple. The victims indeed may have been killed in the precinct, and small portions of the choicer parts (*μηρία*) carried within, to burn on the altar with dry split wood (*σχίζαι*). This may also have been done on private or domestic altars (*ἐσχάραι*) of *Ζεὺς Κτήσιος*, *Ζεὺς Ἑρκεῖος*, &c. But in the "Oedipus at Colonus" of Sophocles (898), Theseus, when suddenly called away from a sacrifice of oxen (*βουθυτῶν*) to Poseidon, sends a messenger to the altar, ordering the people to come in hot haste, on horseback and on foot, from the sacrifice; a mandate which seems less consistent with a congregation within a temple than with out-of-doors spectators.

'In the "Andromache" of Euripides (1100–1123) the son of Achilles is suddenly attacked, while performing a sacrifice, by an armed host who had concealed themselves behind the bay-trees at Delphi. Finding himself thus assailed, he snatches a shield from the front wall or portico of the temple, leaps upon the altar (*ἔστη ἐπὶ βωμοῦ*), takes his stand, and defends himself against the missiles hurled at him from all sides. Here the scene seems wholly external, though some ambiguity arises from these words *ἔρχεται δ' ἀνακτόρων κρηπῖδος ἐντὸς*, v. 1112.

'Again, in the "Trachiniae" of Sophocles (753) Hercules is described as performing a sacrifice of many victims (*πολυθύτους σφαγὰς*) on an altar which he had himself erected on a headland, and which evidently stands on a cliff overhanging the sea, for he hurls the herald Lichas from the altar into the waves beneath.'

Among the numerous fragments of sculpture and architecture found at a low level in the excavations on the site of the Temple, there were several of a very archaic character and of remarkable interest. These are some small portions of what were probably the bases of columns similar to the sculptured columns of the last Temple: one of them has traces of sculpture, another has sculpture attached to it; but not the least interesting is a fragment which is inscribed with the characters here shown—  . These cannot at present be recognised as forming part of any Greek or Semitic word; but, guided by the character of the sculpture, Mr. Newton is of opinion that all these fragments belonged to the Temple to which Croesus contributed some of the columns, and that therefore the date of the inscription may be as early as B.C. 560.

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* For the use of this plate my thanks are due to H. A. GRUEBER, Esq., of the British Museum, and to the Numismatic Society of London.

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LIST OF SCHOLARS TO WHOM THE AUTHOR IS INDEBTED FOR ASSISTANCE IN THE INSCRIPTIONS.

*Babington, Rev. Prof. Churchill, D.D., IV. 1, 2; VI. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9†, 10†, 11†, 12.

Churton, Rev. W. R., B.D., Resident Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and Honorary Canon of Rochester Cathedral, IV. 3–13.

*Hort, Rev. F. J. A., D.D., Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, III. 1, 2; VI. 4, 14; VIII. 2, 3, 4, 5.

Jackson, Henry, Esq., M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, VIII. 1†.

*Lightfoot, Rev. Prof. J. B., D.D., Canon of St. Paul's, III. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18; VII. 6, 8†, 9, 13, 14, 16, 17; VIII. 16.

Mayor, Rev. Prof., M.A., Senior Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Accentuated and corrected the Greek text, and corrected the translations of many of the inscriptions.

Munro, Rev. H. A. J., M.A., Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, III. 3, 4, 5; VI. 2, 13; VII. 20; VIII. 7, 18.

Nettleship, H., Esq., M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Ch. Ch. College, Oxford, VII. 18†.

Nixon, J. E., Esq., M.A., Dean and Classical Lecturer of King's College, Cambridge, VI. 3, 15; VII. 1†; VIII. 6, 9†, 10†, 11, 14, 17†.

*Paley, Prof. F. A., M.A., Classical Examiner to the London University, Editor of *Aeschylus*, *Euripides*, &c. &c., III. 7; V. 1–6†; VI. 1†, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22; VII. 1†, 7, 15,† 19†; VIII. 1†, 9†, 10†, 12, 15, 19.

Provost of Eton (Rev. C. O. Goodford, D.D.), VII. 5†; VIII. 1†.

Provost of King's (Rev. Richard Okes, D.D.), VIII. 1†.

Roberts, E. S., M.A., Fellow of Caius College, Cambridge, VI. 3†; VII. 15†; VIII. 17†.

Sandys, J. E., M.A., Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College, Cambridge, Classical Lecturer at Jesus College, and Public Orator of the University of Cambridge, VII. 8†, 15†, 18†, 19†.

Swete, Rev. H. B., B.D., Fellow of Caius College, Cambridge, II. 1–26.

* These scholars have revised the majority of the inscriptions as thoroughly as the few hours left available by the exigencies of printing would allow.

† The inscriptions against which a dagger is placed have been edited by more than one person.

For the inscriptions not included in this table I am myself responsible. I am also responsible for the text in uncial characters of all the inscriptions, the whole of which were copied from the stones for the various contributors.

Errata et Corrigenda.

For 'Sundries from Ephesus,' p. 22, *read* 'Inscriptions from the Peribolus Wall,' &c. Nos. 2 and 3.

Page 24, *for* 'when I commenced work,' *read* 'where,' &c.

Page 30, *for* 'Falkner,' *read* 'Falkener.'

For 'Iris,' p. 31, *read* 'Isis.'

For 'Sundries from Ephesus,' pp. 39, 41, &c., *read* 'Inscriptions from the City and Suburbs.'

Page 47, *for* 'Sundries,' &c. *read* 'Inscriptions from the Odeum, No. 6.'

Page 52, *for* 'ten feet deep,' *read* 'ten feet wide.'

Page 154, foot-note 1, *for* 'No. 1,' *read* 'No. 3.'

Page 154, foot-note 1, *for* 'No. 4,' *read* 'No. 2.'

Page 188, *for* 'female struggling with Hercules,' *read* 'Herakles struggling with an Amazon.'

The plate opposite page 224 should have been lettered, Sculptured Drum No. 4, and the plate opposite page 238 should have been lettered, Sculptured Drum No. 5.

Page 234, *for* 'to a line at a given distance of the pavement,' *read* 'from the pavement.'

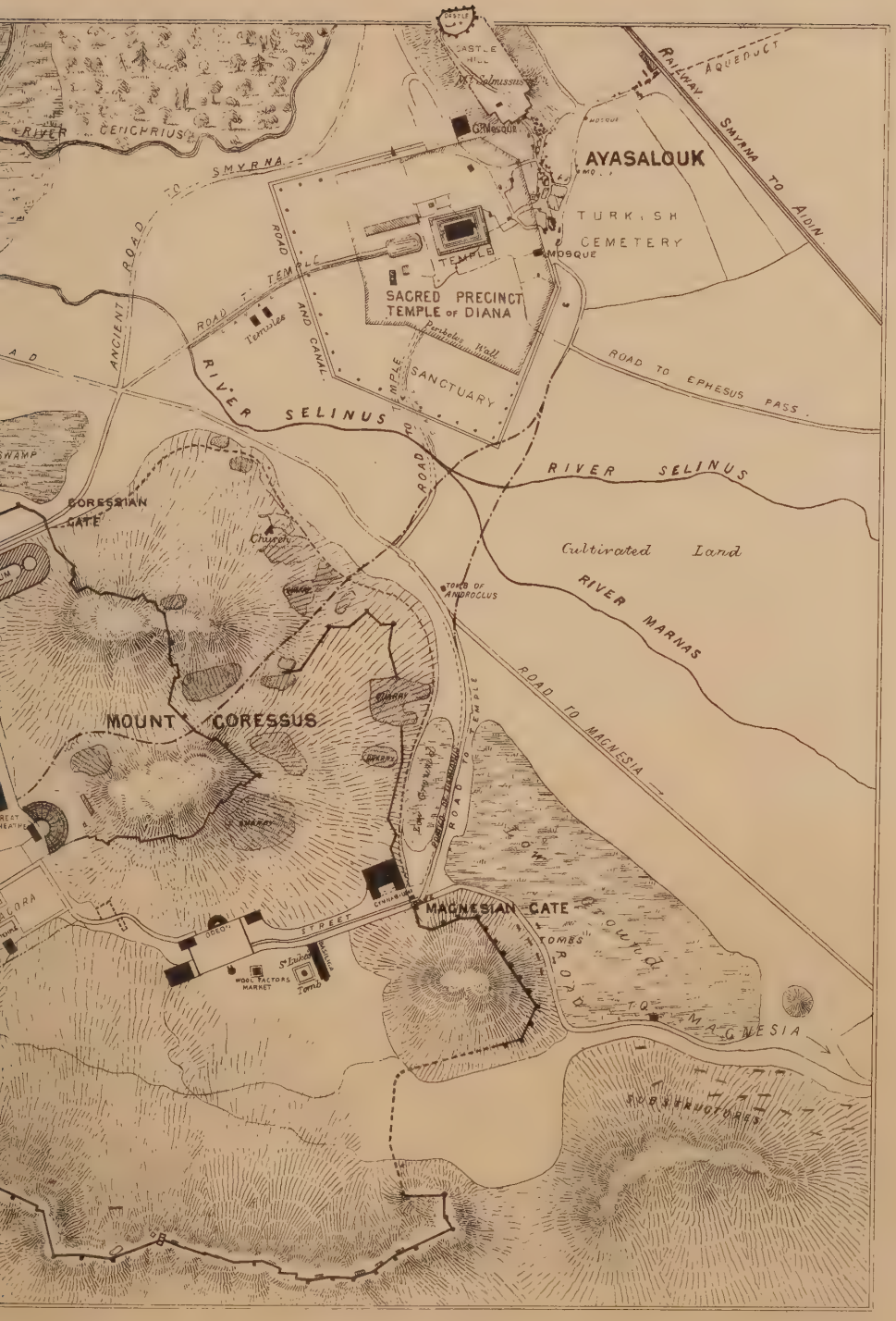
Page 239, foot-note, 'see Plate.' No illustration of these fragments was ultimately prepared, but they were similar in character to the subject of the plan facing page 214.

Page 243, *for* 'Palmak,' *read* 'Parmak.'

Page 264, *for* '418 feet, 1 inch,' *read* '418 feet, 1½ inch.'

Page 268, *for* 'all the ordinary columns of the Peristyle,' *read* 'all the ordinary outer columns,' &c.

PLAN
OF THE
RUINS OF EPHESUS,
WITH THE SITE OF THE
TEMPLE OF DIANA.
SCALE OF FEET.
BRIDGE
CAYSTER
Marsh
ROAD
Cultivated Land
Cultivated Land
GREEK MONUMENT
Double Church
GREAT GYMNASIUM
CITY PORT
CANAL
Cultivated Land
SUBSTRUCTURES
UPPER ROAD
SUBSTRUCTURES
FORT
MOUNT
STREAM
Cultivated Land


RIVER CELICHRIUS
SMYRNA
ANCIENT ROAD
CASTLE HILL
Mt. Solmissus
GR. Mosque
RAILWAY
AQUEDUCT
SMYRNA TO AIDIN
AYASALOUK
MOSQUE
TURKISH CEMETERY
TEMPLE
ROAD TO TEMPLE
SACRED PRECINCT
TEMPLE OF DIANA
Peribolos Wall
SANCTUARY
MARBLE
Temples
AND CANAL
RIVER SELINUS
ROAD TO EPHESUS PASS
SWAMP
CORESSIAN GATE
Church
TOMB OF ANDROCLUS
Cultivated Land
RIVER MARNAS
MOUNT CORESSUS
ROAD TO MAGNESIA
ROAD TO TEMPLE
MAGNESIAN GATE
STREET
WOOL FACTORS MARKET
St Luke's Tomb
TOMBS
ROAD TO MAGNESIA
RUBBISH MOUNDS

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

City of Ephesus—Temple of Artemis—City Port—Port Panormus—City Wall—Rock-cut Steps—Ancient Houses—Views from Mount Prion—Quicksilver—The Goddess Artemis—The Arts of Greece—Alexander—Antigonus—Lysimachus—Antiochus and the Seleucidæ—The Eumenidæ—Embankment of River—Botago—Roman Conquest of Ephesus—Antony and Cleopatra—Augustus—Ephesus under the Romans—Antoninus Pius—Christian Churches—The Goths—Rock-cut Church—Decline of Ephesus—The Turks build Ayasalouk—Knights of St. John—Tamerlane—Desertion of Ephesus and Ayasalouk—Present Occupation—Tobacco—Beauty of Ephesus.

City of Ephesus.

The ancient city of Ephesus was situated on the river Caÿster, which falls into the Bay of Scala Nova, on the western coast of Asia Minor.

Of the origin and foundation of Ephesus we have no historical record. Stories were told which ascribed the settlement of the place to Androklos, the son of the Athenian king, Codrus, while other legends spoke of the Egyptian Sesostris as having carried his conquests into the Ephesian territory.

With other Ionian cities of Asia Minor, Ephesus fell into the hands of Crœsus, the last of the kings of Lydia, and, on the overthrow of Crœsus by Cyrus, it passed under the heavier yoke of the Persian despot. Although

from that time, during a period of at least five centuries, to the conquest by the Romans, the city underwent great changes of fortune, it never lost its grandeur and importance.

Temple of Artemis.

The Temple of Artemis (Diana), whose splendour has almost become proverbial, tended chiefly to make Ephesus the most attractive and notable of all the cities of Asia Minor.

Its magnificent harbour was filled with Greek and Phenician merchantmen, and multitudes flocked from all parts to profit by its commerce, and to worship at the shrine of its tutelary goddess.

City Port.

The City Port was fully four miles from the sea, which has not, as has been supposed, receded far, if at all, from the ancient sea-bord. This fact is proved by the extensive remains of the massive stone embankment on the north bank of the river Caÿster, which I succeeded in tracing, without difficulty, to a distance within 400 yards of the present sea-bord.

At the point where the river, changing its eastward course, turns abruptly to the north, a canal was cut, leading direct to the City Port, which was snugly ensconced behind the rocky hill near the western extremity of Mount Prion. The form of the Port is clearly defined by the tall bullrushes which now cover nearly the whole area, leaving only a small patch of water on the south side, near the centre, which is always clear and fresh, being probably supplied by one of the numerous springs which abound at Ephesus. The bullrushes grow to the height of fifteen feet, and a beautiful yellow iris marks the

EPHESUS FROM AYASALOUK.

GREAT MOSQUE AND SITE OF TEMPLE IN THE FOREGROUND

M&N HANHART LITH

VIEW OF EPHESUS AND AYASALOUK.

M & N HANHART LITH.

boundary of the port during a certain season of the year. Wild fowl have here a safe refuge from the sportsman.

At the distance of little more than a mile from the sea, there was, I believe, another port, which, like the City Port, was an oblong with the corners cut off. If there ever was a Port Panormus at Ephesus, it must have been this haven, through which the river now runs obliquely from one end to the other, and which is remarkably well sheltered. But the Port Panormus mentioned by Strabo, and mistaken by some for a port at Ephesus, was, I believe, situated between Neapolis and Pygela, and was, therefore, a few miles south of Ephesus. Port Panormus.

The city of Ephesus was built chiefly upon the slopes of two mountains, Prion and Coressus. The City Wall, which is said to have been built by Lysimachus, can even now be traced for nearly its whole length, as in its tortuous windings it follows the lofty and irregular ridge of Mount Prion, which bounds the city on the south side, and thence runs down westward to within a few yards of the mountain stream which falls into the Caÿster near the canal. Then crossing the extremity of Mount Prion, and, returning eastward, it encloses the ancient fort, commonly, but erroneously, called St. Paul's Prison. From this point, dipping down the precipitous side of the rocky steep on which the fort stands, it runs to the edge of the canal near the City Port, and here was the gate through which the city was entered from the sea. City Wall.

The wall is again to be seen on the north side of the port, at the eastern extremity, being continued northward for a considerable distance ; then again turning east-

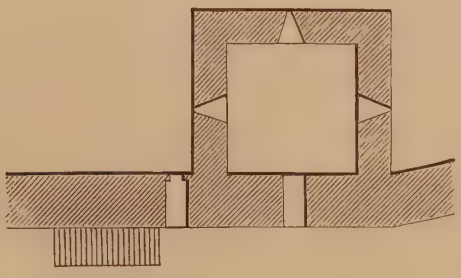
ward towards the Coressian gate, and skirting the mountain called Coressus, at some distance up the side, till it reaches the Magnesian gates, from which it makes a circuit enclosing the large mound between these gates and Mount Prion. The remains of three other city gates, making in all six in number, may be seen distinctly in the

Tower and Sally-Port

mounds which mark their sites. One of them is near the western extremity of Mount Prion, and nearly opposite the fort called St. Paul's Prison ; a second is in the plain on the north side of the city, and is not far from the Serapion, and a third is on Mount Coressus, where a path crosses it from east to west. No ruins of buildings remain

on the eastern slope of Mount Coressus; but there appears to have been a large cemetery here, consisting chiefly of rock-cut tombs, some bearing short inscriptions, which are now much weather-worn and almost illegible.

At the highest point of Mount Prion, 1,300 feet above the sea, a large area has been cleared and levelled. Here, I suppose, were the quarters for the garrison needed for the defence of the wall on this side of the city. I here found several large cisterns sunk in the rock, while at the eastern extremity of the mountain I came across the



Plan of Wall, with Tower, Steps, and Sally Port

remains of a large earthenware water-pipe at a high level.

The City Wall, 10 feet 6 inches in thickness, and measuring 36,000 feet in length, encloses an area equal to about 1,027 acres. It is fortified by massive loop-holed towers from 35 to 40 feet square, averaging about 100 feet apart, near to many of which are the remains of the stone steps which led up to the top of the walls and towers. These steps are 6 feet wide, and are slightly raised at the outer end, to serve the purpose of a balustrade. In

suitable places, where the ground was favourable, were small sally-ports about 4 feet wide.

Rock-cut steps.

Near the eastern extremity of Mount Prion, where the wall is abruptly terminated by a precipice, may be seen some rock-cut steps, leading up to the walls, which must have been used by the soldiery more than 2,000 years ago.

Ancient houses.

Not a few substructures of the houses of ancient Ephesus still remain in terrace above terrace upon the northern slope of Mount Prion. These were doubtless delightfully cool during the summer, but cold in winter.

View from Mount Prion.

The summit of Mount Prion commands a very beautiful and extensive view. The river Cayster, winding like a white ribbon through the plain, forms in its course numerous small peninsulæ. The Selenusian lakes; the village and castle on the hill at Ayasalouk; the bay of Scala Nova (the ancient Neapolis); the mountainous island of Samos, and the still more mountainous coast beyond; the snow-capped Tmolus to the north, and the ruined city, mapped out at the feet of the spectator; these, with countless other objects of interest, seen through the lustrous atmosphere of Asia Minor, make up a panorama of exquisite beauty. Ancient Ephesus is now completely deserted; but enough remains of the public buildings to convey to the visitor some idea of the former splendour and magnificence of the city. Vitruvius describes the Cilbian fields of Ephesus as yielding vermilion and quicksilver, but the situation of these mines is not known in the present day.

Quick-silver.

The traditional birthplace of the goddess Artemis

was in the Ephesian territory, and is described by Strabo as a thick wood, through which ran the river Cenchrius, at the base of the Solmissian hill. The wood, the river, and the mountain were most probably near the site afterwards selected for the great Temple. This site is now proved to have been to the north-east of the city, and almost a mile from its nearest gate. The Goddess Artemis.

During the generations which immediately followed the conquest of Lydia and the rest of Asia Minor by the Persian kings, the arts of Greece attained their highest perfection, and it was within this short period of little more than two centuries that the great Temple of Artemis was three times built upon the same site, and, as recent researches have found, each time on the same grand scale. The arts of Greece.

It is said that when Alexander the Great first visited Ephesus, he offered to complete at his own cost the Temple then building, if the Ephesians would allow him to dedicate it in his own name to Artemis. His request, it is said, was refused in an answer which, though it may have betrayed the fear of offending the conqueror, showed great tact, 'It is not fitting that one god should build a temple to another god.' Alexander the Great.

That Alexander succeeded better with the people of Priênê, is proved by the dedicatory inscription of the Temple of that city, found by Mr. R. Popplewell Pullan, and now placed with other remains of that Temple in the British Museum.

After the death of Alexander, B.C. 323, Ephesus was taken by Antigonus, who put a garrison here as in other cities of Asia Minor. Antigonus appears to have been Antigonus.

far too much engaged in making conquests in Syria and Egypt, where his victories followed each other in rapid succession, to retain possession of the Ephesian territory. He neglected therefore the necessary precautions which he should have taken against the stratagems of equally ambitious generals, and the oligarchy, which had been appointed to govern Ephesus, treacherously opened the gates to Lysimachus.

Lysimachus.

During the century between the years 323 and 223 B.C., Ephesus was subject to Antigonus, Lysimachus, Antiochus Soter, Antiochus Theos, and the Seleucidæ. In the year 223 B.C. Antiochus the Great became King of Syria and Asia, and Ephesus paid tribute to him till his death, B.C. 187. Ephesus then fell successively into the hands of the Kings of Pergamus, Eumenes, Attalus II., and Attalus III.

Antiochus and the Seleucidæ.

The Eumenidæ.

It was during the reign of Attalus II. that an engineer made the grievous mistake of narrowing the wide mouth of the River Caÿster, by embanking it on the north side, and by building a mole on that side along the sea-shore. These constructions, it was thought, would increase the scour of the river near its mouth, but they had a contrary effect. In course of time the port was silted up, and to this circumstance the decline of Ephesus may in great part be traced.

Embankment of river.

At the present day a few small huts near the mouth of the river shelter the fishermen and their families who are engaged in the preparation of Botago, a delicacy made from the roe of the gray mullet, a fish that abounds in the Caÿster, and there attains an enormous size.

Botago.

Roman conquest of Ephesus.

The Romans were determined to possess themselves of Ephesus, but the Ephesians struggled obstinately for their independence, and revolted in favour of Mithridates. They were, however, ultimately subdued by the Romans under Antony, B.C. 41.

Antony and Cleopatra.

The luxurious life led by Antony at Ephesus, where he was joined by Cleopatra, may have affected injuriously the prosperity of the city; but with the peace which it enjoyed in common with other cities of Asia Minor under the Roman Empire, her commerce and riches must have rapidly increased, in spite of the heavy tribute which she had to pay to her new masters.

Augustus.

It can scarcely be doubted that Augustus, who confined the bounds of the Temple precinct, or Temenos, within narrower limits, began the erection of large public buildings, many of which were probably completed by Tiberius after the severe earthquakes which destroyed so many cities in his time.

Ephesus under the Romans.

Indeed, under the Roman dominion all the public buildings, including the theatres and Gymnasia, must have been erected; the foundations of ancient Greek structures being probably allowed to remain wherever they could be utilised. But the small amount of Greek masonry which has been found in excavations in the city, proves how recklessly the Romans destroyed the works of other hands than their own.

Antoninus Pius.

Under Antoninus Pius a great portion of the city near the Odeum was rebuilt.

It is not unlikely that some Christian churches were

Christian churches.

built within the city before the Temple was finally destroyed.

The Goths.

The Goths under several leaders sacked the city A.D. 262, and set fire to the Temple, which could not have existed many years after that date. Towards the latter end of the third century, the Christians, actuated by the religious zeal which in later days was to rouse the Turks to their career of conquest, exerted themselves to extirpate the worship of the heathen goddess by the utter destruction of the Temple, and probably also by the persecution of her worshippers.

Rock-cut church.

Churches were dedicated at Ephesus to St. John, St. Mark, and St. Luke. There is also on the east side of Mount Coressus, a church near the cleft in the rock called the Cave of the Seven Sleepers, which is said to have been dedicated to them. The walls are cut out of the solid rock, and the groined roof is of stone and plastered.

Decline of Ephesus.

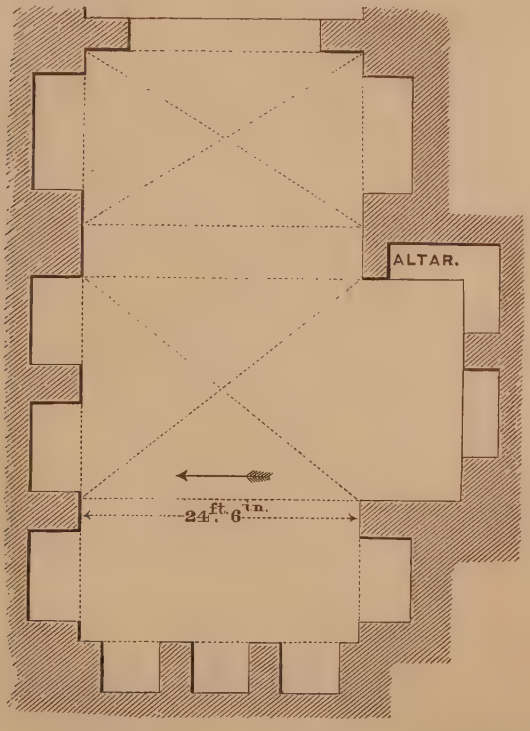
With the decline of its commerce, and the destruction of the Temple, the importance of Ephesus was gradually lessened, and for many centuries we know little of its history. The city probably fell not unfrequently into the hands of adventurers. Among these we hear of a Greek pirate in the eleventh century. Two centuries later the Turks had possession of the city, and built a considerable town at Ayasalouk, where the great Mosque still stands with many small mosques, baths, and tombs. This town, with Ephesus itself, fell into the hands of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, who struck some coins at Ayasalouk A.D. 1365.

The Turks build Ayasalouk.

Knights of St. John.

Timour the Tartar, commonly called Tamerlane, obtained possession of Ayasalouk A.D. 1402. Ephesus was then only a suburb, but he was too great a conqueror to hold for any long time a place which had become so

Tamerlane.



Rock-cut Church, near the Cave of the Seven Sleepers.

insignificant, and the Turks regaining possession, thenceforth retained it.

The ancient city of Ephesus was by degrees deserted, and the Turkish town at Ayasalouk seems also to have

Desertion of Ephesus and Ayasalouk.

fallen gradually into decay. The great Mosque itself is now roofless, and some of the small mosques are used as granaries by the villagers and cultivators of the neighbouring fields. The cause of the decay is to be found in the malaria from the marshes near the River Caÿster. As this malaria increased from year to year, the inhabitants deserted not only Ephesus, but Ayasalouk, and about two centuries ago took up their abode in the modern village of Kirkenjee, on the mountain range bounding the east side of the plain.

Present occupation.

At the present time there are at Ayasalouk a few caffigees and bakals (coffee-house keepers and provision dealers), whose numbers were largely multiplied while the excavations were in progress. But although there are many small houses and huts at Ayasalouk, there are not more than twenty regular inhabitants, the houses being occupied only during the sowing and harvest time by the people from Kirkenjee, who cultivate the land in the plain of Ephesus and now grow tobacco amongst the ruins of the ancient city. This tobacco has acquired a great reputation for its fine quality, and for several years it obtained a high price in Smyrna. I have lately been told that the quality was deteriorated.

Tobacco.

Beauty of Ephesus.

The great beauty of Ephesus can scarcely be exaggerated, surrounded as it is with mountains which, with their broken forms, exhibit in every direction a varied and picturesque sky-line. The numerous quarries, with their upright sides and jagged edges, and the wild, varying-coloured vegetation changing with the seasons, add much to the effect of the scene. In the spring of the year the

angelica, with its bright yellow blossom, covers Mount Coressus, making it most prominent in the landscape from every point of view.

Although my sojourn there was extended over the greater part of eleven years, I never became weary of the scenery by which I was surrounded, for the mountains on which my eyes daily rested changed from hour to hour, as the sun travelled on in its course, and the desolation of the place was fully compensated by its constant and never-ceasing loveliness.

CHAPTER II.

Excavations at Ephesus Commenced—Terms of Firman—Ancient Writers—Portico of Damianus—Modern Porticoes—Excavations west of the City—Difficulties—Accident—Great Gymnasium—St. Sophia—Conjectures of Travellers—Fish Market—Oyster Shells—Baptismal Font—A Dreamer—A Marble Hall—Narrow Escape—Silting up—Trial Holes and Trenches—Christian Tombs—Suspension of Excavations by the Turks—The Consul's Joke—Gold in Statues—Discoveries—Discouragement—Bas-reliefs at Venice—Application for Grant—Death of Mr. Blunt—Miscellaneous Antiquities—Interesting Inscription.

Excavations at Ephesus commenced.

In the month of May 1863, having obtained a firman from the Turkish Government, through the influence of the trustees of the British Museum, I commenced my excavations at Ephesus in search of the long-lost Temple of Artemis.

Terms of Firman.

I was authorised by my firman to excavate at Ephesus and Colophon, in search of antiquities, for twelve months, and to export whatever antiquities I might find, leaving all duplicates for the Turkish Government; but I was obliged to obtain the consent of the owners or occupiers of the land in which I desired to excavate, and this condition alone involved many hindrances to the work of exploration. My firman had to be renewed from year to year, if required for more than twelve months; and the

difficulties which I afterwards experienced in obtaining its renewal in due time, caused, not unfrequently, great delay and inconvenience.

As I had, in my agreement with the trustees, undertaken to begin the work at my own expense, I was naturally anxious to spend as small a sum as possible in what might truly be called tentative excavations. I therefore engaged in the first instance only a small gang of workmen.

Ancient writers.

I had read all that is extant by ancient writers about Ephesus and its famous Temple, which was accounted one of the seven wonders of the ancient world; but their vague and apparently conflicting statements gave me very little, if any, information on which I could depend. It was evident that nothing short of a most laborious and persevering course of tentative excavations would be likely to bring to light the remains of a building of which no sign remained above the present surface of the ground, and which had been hidden for so many centuries.

The vague notices of the Temple and its site by ancient writers, will show how slight a clue they afforded me to its actual position, and how extremely scanty was the information which I derived, even by the most careful deductions and inferences, from their statements, to guide me in commencing my excavations in search of its remains. Strabo[1] says that the last Temple was built on the foundations of the old one burnt by Hero-

Strabo.

[1] Ch. xiv. 640.

stratus. Indeed, the interior and the roof alone seem to have been burnt, the columns, or a great portion of them, having been preserved. Hence there are not two sites, but one, and the testimony of more modern authors applies simply to the site spoken of by writers who lived before Herostratus.

Xenophon. Xenophon says[1]—'At Ephesus, the river Selinus runs past the Temple of Artemis, and there are fish and shells in it.' This testimony is confirmed by Strabo in almost the same words (viii. p. 387). Xenophon speaks of the old Temple, Strabo of the new, and

Pliny. both were eye-witnesses. Pliny[2] tells us—'There is in the city a fountain called Callippia, and there are two rivers called Selinus, surrounding the Temple from different quarters.' Whether Pliny ever visited Ephesus, we can scarcely say; nor can much stress be laid on his statements about the two rivers Selinus; but, as he wrote in the reign of Titus, he must have referred to the Temple which replaced the one burnt by Herostratus. Reference to the General Plan will show the position I have given to the rivers Selinus and Cenchrius coming from different parts, and, in a manner, surrounding the Temple.

Pliny[3] again says—'They built the Temple in a marshy soil, in order that it should not suffer from the earthquakes, nor be exposed to cracks.' The site of the Temple must therefore be sought for in the low ground.

Diogenes Laertius. Diogenes Laertius[4] also says—'The spot on which the

[1] *Anab.* v. 3, 8.
[2] *Hist. Nat.* v. 31.
[3] *Hist. Nat.* xxxvi. 21.
[4] I. viii. 19.

Temple was built was very moist;' and he thus confirms the statement of Pliny.

From Vitruvius [1] we learn that 'when Chersiphron, the architect, was about to convey to the Temple of Diana the shafts of the columns, he could not employ waggons on account of the magnitude of the load, and the softness of the roads, which led over flat fields; but he contrived mechanical means for the transport of the columns and heavy blocks of marble, which might not have answered had not the distance been small, for, from the quarries to the Temple, the distance is not more than 8,000 feet, and there is no hill, but one continual flat.' Vitruvius.

This description of Vitruvius merely confirms the testimony of Strabo and Pliny, that the Temple was built on low ground; but the distance which he gives between the quarries and the Temple site is not to be relied on as correct; and, even if it were, where are the quarries? Certainly not on Mount Coressus, as has been supposed, for there is no white marble quarry there.

Strabo [2] asserts that 'the Ephesians dwelt around the present Temple till the time of Alexander, but when Lysimachus surrounded with walls the site of the present town, the inhabitants were unwilling to change their abode. So he waited for a day of very heavy rain, and then by stopping up the sewers, flooded the town. The inhabitants were now glad to remove from the vicinity of the Temple.' In another paragraph Strabo tells us, 'The Temple has the right of sanctuary to the present day, but the boundaries of the sanctuary have varied at different Strabo.

[1] x. 2–11. [2] xiv. 640.

times. Alexander extended them to a stadium (600 feet), Mithridates shot an arrow from the corner of the roof, and is said to have shot it a little beyond a stadium. Antony doubled the distance, and thus included within the right of sanctuary a certain portion of the city; but this ordinance put the city at the mercy of the malefactors, so that Cæsar Augustus cancelled it.'

From this it appeared that the Temple could not be much more than a stadium from the city; and this passage misled me, and prevented my entertaining the idea of searching for the Temple at a much greater distance when I first commenced the excavations. But even now that the site of the Temple is discovered, it is difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile this statement of Strabo with ascertained facts. Part of the peribolus wall, which has been discovered, might have been the wall built by Antony, as that portion of it which intervenes between the Temple and the walls of the city, at the nearest point, would be something more than two stadia from the south-west angle of the Temple.

Pausanias.

Pausanias[1] informs us that 'the Ephesians buried Androklos in their territory, where the tomb is shown down to my time. It lies on the road which leads from the Temple past the Olympium, and to the Magnesian gate.' Pausanias, thus writing about the middle of the second century after Christ, and having been an eye-witness, here gives us some valuable information, the truth of which was confirmed by the discovery of the tomb itself, in the position described by him.

[1] vii. 2-6.

Philostratus [1] writes that 'Damianus, a rich Roman, joined the Temple to the city, having stretched out, or extended, towards it the road which descends through the Magnesian gates; and this road is a stoa (covered way,) extending to the length of a stadium (600 feet), and built entirely of stone. The object of the building was that the priests should not be kept away from the Temple whenever it rained. This road Damianus inscribed with the name of his wife.' Philo-stratus.

This description of the Stoa of Damianus, who lived in the time of Marcus Aurelius, appeared to be the best guide for finding the Temple. All that seemed to be necessary was to find the Magnesian gate, and to follow the road from it to the Temple; but in studying the ground where the Magnesian gate was likely to be, and looking thence outside the city, I could see no probable site for the Temple within even a few stadia of the gate, much less at the distance of one stadium only, which appeared to be the length of the Stoa.

The Xenophon who lived about the end of the fourth century after Christ, and long after the destruction of the Temple, tells us that from the city to the Temple there were seven stadia.[2] This appears to contradict the testimony of the earlier writers; but the excavations have proved the truth of his statement.

Strabo [3] again says—'Then comes the town of Pygela, then the harbour called Panormus, possessing *a* temple of the Ephesian Artemis, and then the city.' This passage

[1] *Vitæ Sophist.* II. 23. [2] *Ephesiaca*, I. 194.

I quote chiefly because it has been misunderstood. The port Panormus here mentioned is between Pygela and Ephesus, and the temple of Artemis was a small temple close to that port, and not the great Temple at Ephesus, which would certainly not have been described by Strabo as *a* temple of the Ephesian Artemis. No reference to a port near the temple of Artemis is made by any ancient writer that I am aware of, but there was probably an ornamental basin or small port in front of the Temple, which was approached by means of the canals which are described in the inscriptions found in the peribolus wall, and which evidently ran side by side with the roads. For confirmation of this opinion see Appendix, Sundries from Ephesus, No. 20.

Strabo.

Now that the Temple is found, we know what to reject of the testimony here quoted; but they who take into consideration the data given, will acknowledge that a very difficult problem had to be solved, when they reflect that the funds placed at my disposal for the search did not enable me to employ an exhaustive system, and that it was necessary to take the fullest possible advantage of circumstances as they occurred in the course of the exploration.

In my perplexity I chose Strabo, Pausanias, and Philostratus as my best guides of all ancient writers, because they had been eye-witnesses of the things they described. Of these three, Philostratus appeared to give the most valuable information as to the probable site of the Temple, in his description of the stoa, or portico, built by Damianus.

Portico of Damianus.

It seemed, then, that the Portico of Damianus was only 600 feet long, and that if I could find it, I had merely to follow it for that distance from the city, and I must inevitably find the Temenos of the Temple.

Modern Porticoes.

A portico, similar to this of Damianus at Ephesus has been built in modern times at Bologna, by voluntary contributions, to connect the city with the church of the Madonna di San Luca, and to protect processions from sun and rain. The church of Santa Maria del Monte, surmounting Monte Berico, near Vicenza, is also nearly connected with the city by a continuous portico, more than half-a-mile in length.

Excavations west of the city.

On arriving at Ephesus, and studying the ground in every direction outside the city, I found a long strip of land standing several feet above the general level of the plain between the city and the sea. At the western end of this strip an open space is reached, which would have been of all others the best possible site for the Temple. There it would have been a most conspicuous and beautiful object from nearly every house in the city, as well as from the suburbs, and from the sea. Reference to the general plan will at once show the numerous advantages of this site. So great, indeed, are they, that I lingered about this spot, and looked about me, though in vain, for a promising mound. Seeing none, I sank some trial holes in the highest land I could find. At the same time I tried some cross trenches in the strip of land in search of the Portico of Damianus ; but in none of them did I find anything except the substructures of some monuments

and tombs, and the thin brick walling of Roman and Byzantine buildings.

Difficulties.

The excavations were undertaken under many disadvantages. They were begun in May, when the hot season sets in, and when, as I afterwards learnt, they must be suspended. The spot where I began operations was more than three miles from the village of Ayasalouk; and my workmen had to walk this distance for their daily supply of food. They lived at that time in a tent, which was kindly supplied by the Turkish military authorities at Smyrna.

When the excavations were first begun I had only five Turkish workmen, whom I found unemployed at the station at Ayasalouk on the first day of my arrival. These men, who had just been discharged by the railway officials, I at once engaged. Shouldering their picks and shovels, with their bread and water for the day, they followed me down to the open plain beyond the ruins of the city. Turks have the reputation of being very grave and sedate, and so they are generally; but of these five men, one was a jester, and he kept the others in roars of laughter, till our arrival at the place, when I commenced work.

I had at that time no house at Ephesus, but lived alone at the hotel at Boudjah, a village a few miles from Smyrna. I had to walk a mile and a half to meet the train, which started from Smyrna at six o'clock in the morning, and took me up at Paradise station. The fifty miles between Smyrna and Ayasalouk occupied nearly three hours and a half. There were no first-class carriages

at that time on the Smyrna and Aidin railway, and the second-class carriages had no sun-blinds. The six hours and a half which elapsed between the arrival of the train at Ayasalouk and its return in the afternoon, I spent in walking to and from the place where my men at that time were working, in searching about the plain and studying the ground, and superintending the workmen. Often I took to digging, myself, during the men's dinner hour, as well as at other times, when I was impatient at the slow movements of the men, or their unskilful mode of going to work. I had further to take notes and measurements, and make drawings of everything that was found. Then there was the return journey by railway, and the walk home. I was sometimes so over-excited by the hard day's work, that I ran most of the distance between the station and the village. The whole day's work occupied between fourteen and fifteen hours.

A day's work.

A few months after I had begun the excavations, the use of a room at Ayasalouk was offered to me by Mr. Frederick Whittall, the goods manager of the Smyrna and Aidin railway, who was about to occupy better quarters at Aidin. The room was approached by a rickety external staircase, and the entrance door opened from the terrace roof of a stable. The whole tenement was so dilapidated that it threatened to tumble down whenever I walked across the room. It did fall down soon after I had left it for the châlet which I afterwards occupied in the Ephesus pass. The landlord of my room at Ayasalouk, an Armenian who lived at Scala Nova, did not trouble himself to come or send for the rent, which

must have become due after the expiration of Mr. Whittall's term. I therefore never saw him, but I was afterwards told that he had complained of my having taken possession without his sanction.

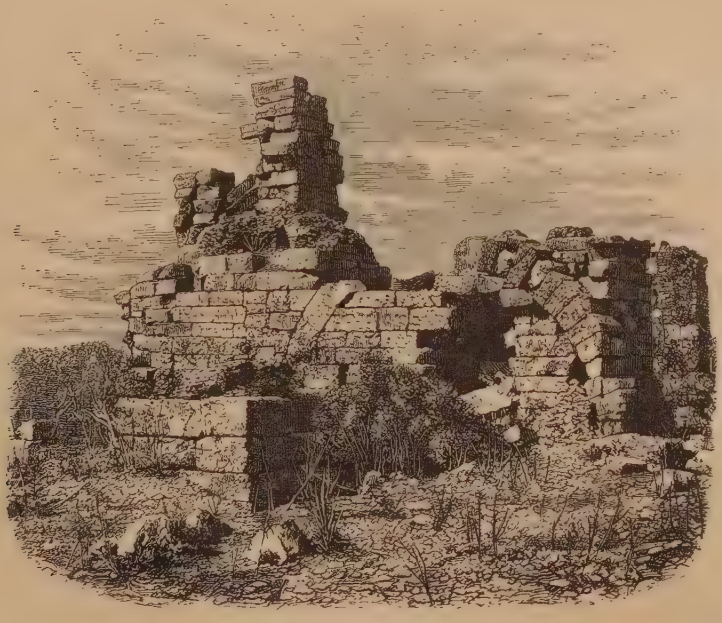
As I could not afford to increase the number of my workmen beyond eighteen or twenty, the work of exploration proceeded very slowly, and more than five months passed before I felt quite satisfied that the site of the Temple was not to be found between the city and the sea. I had approached nearer to the city, and had even tried a large mound on the north side of the City Port, as well as a considerable tract of land to the north of the city.

Accident.

The excavations had been very much impeded by an accident, which prevented my visiting Ephesus during the month of September. This accident befell me in the cause of science. I had promised Dr. Birch, of the British Museum, before I left England, that I would try to obtain a cast, or a copy of some kind, of the bas-relief of Sesostris, which is carved on the perpendicular face of a white marble rock at Ninfi. I found that the cast was impracticable, but I made a careful drawing from measurements of every part, and returning home alone at night, I missed my road. My horse fell with me into a dry ditch ; my collar bone was broken by the fall, and I was otherwise injured. During the month of September I was confined to the house by this accident, and that month proved the hottest of the whole year. I was obliged, during my absence from the works at Ephesus, to depute others to look after

my workmen there. Little was done; but for this the unusual heat of that month may in part account. On resuming my visits to Ephesus, I sank a number of trial holes to the north of the city, in every place where I thought the Temple might have stood, and further explored the foundations of the Great Gymnasium at the head of

Great Gymnasium.



The Great Gymnasium.

the City Port. I found that the Romans had there made use of the foundations, and part of the superstructure of a large Greek building, which was probably of a similar character. Our woodcut represents a small portion of the building, where the Roman masonry is most con-

spicuous. Here, prostrate on the ground, are some shafts of columns of Egyptian syenite. Some of these shafts were used by the Turks in building their large mosque at Ayasalouk; others appear to have been conveyed to Constantinople, and raised up in the mosque of St. Sophia, where they are now pointed out to visitors as columns from the temple of Diana, which, at the time they were taken from Ephesus, they were no doubt believed to be. Whether these columns were taken to Constantinople as early as the sixth century, when St. Sophia was built, or at a later period, must remain a matter of doubt. In the latter case they might have been substituted for the original columns of the building. Under any circumstances they should never have been mistaken for columns from the Temple; these, according to distinct statements of ancient writers, being of white marble from the neighbouring quarries.

St. Sophia.

Dr. Chandler and other travellers have thought that the Great Gymnasium was either the Temple itself, or that it had been raised upon the foundations of the Temple. Independent of the facts now brought to light by the excavations, the Great Gymnasium must have existed contemporaneously with the last Temple for nearly three centuries. The underground passages of the Great Gymnasium are sometimes explored by visitors and others to a certain extent. They are chiefly choked up with the débris of the building, and with sand which has been washed in by the floods during many centuries. The natives tell strange stories about the extent of these passages, affirming that they have followed them for miles;

Conjectures of travellers.

and they believe that one is continued all the way to Smyrna! I explored these passages myself in every direction, as far as it was possible to wriggle through them, and I found that none of them extended beyond the building itself. The stories of the natives may

Wing of Great Gymnasium

be partly accounted for by the fact, that all subterraneous or dark passages, like those of the Great Gymnasium, always appear to be much longer than they really are.

Mr. Edward Falkner, in his book on Ephesus and the Temple of Diana, has published plans of the Great Gymnasium and other buildings in the city. My own

plans of these buildings differ so slightly in one or two particulars from those of Mr. Falkner, that I have not thought it necessary to repeat their publication here.

Mr. Falkner has also, in his general plan of the city, shown what he conceived might have been the disposition of the numerous porticoes around the Forum, and connecting the various buildings of the city. I have merely indicated the positions of the buildings themselves, and have shown, as nearly as I can by means of a plan, the present state of the ruins of the city.

The building which I have ventured to designate the Prytaneum, is situated where such a building might have been placed, viz., on the south side of the Forum, which was bounded on all sides by important public buildings. There are many remains of Byzantine buildings which are in a much more ruinous state than the more ancient Roman buildings at Ephesus. As they were built of brick and small stones, the walling has crumbled away, and the débris served in a great measure to raise the surface of the ground, and to make the stony ground which is peculiar to the ruined cities of Asia Minor.

At the same time that I explored the Great Gymnasium, I had men at work on all sides of the City Port. On the north side the ground stands at a considerable height above the plain, and appeared to cover some important buildings. I opened therefore in this place many wide and deep trenches, but I found nothing but Byzantine walls. On this high ground my workmen pitched their tents, and they were now much better situated than

before, as they were in the immediate vicinity of an excellent spring of water, and were quite a mile nearer the village of Ayasalouk.

On exploring the low ground on the south side of the City Port, I found the shaft of a small marble column, inscribed with a dedication by a woman named Cominia Junia to Iris, the Emperor Antoninus Pius, the city of Ephesus, and the directors of the Custom House. Near this spot, probably, was situated the fish-market of the ancient Ephesians. Fish market.

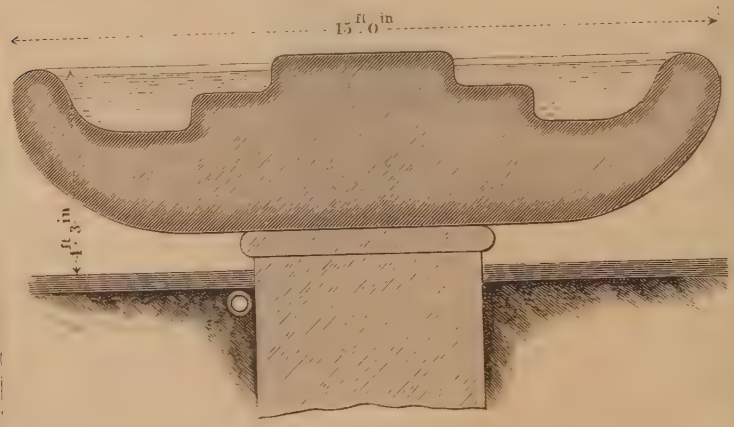
The city of Ephesus is styled in this inscription, the great metropolis of Asia, and Neokoros, the title given to cities where a temple has been built, and dedicated to the patron god or goddess. The word means, literally, temple sweeper or temple-keeper.[1]

On the north side of the City Port, and at its extreme end, I found upon a thin white marble pavement, 12 feet below the surface, immense quantities of oyster shells, upon which the ancient Ephesians had evidently feasted. Oyster shells.

Digging in the Forum, I found, on the east side, what I believe to have been a baptismal font, a large basin, 15 feet in diameter, raised upon a pedestal; the basin consisting of one solid mass of breccia. This, I presume, was used in early Christian times (beginning probably with the latter end of the third century) for the public baptism, in large groups, of converts to Christianity. It is so formed that a full-grown person might, without difficulty, climb over its smooth, rounded edge, and Baptismal font.

[1] See Prof. Donaldson's *Architectura Numismatica.*

stand in water 9 inches deep, while the baptiser could stand dryshod in the centre, which was apparently raised for that purpose. A water-pipe and the remains of a reservoir were found near the font. There is no hole in the centre of the basin, as there must have been had it been a fountain. A basin similar to this has been described as having been formerly in use in or near the Temple of Artemis, and this may be the one now found in the Forum.



Baptismal Font in Forum.

If I am correct in my conjecture as to the use of this basin, not only is no support given to the assertion that the early Christians always baptized by total immersion, but the hypothesis seems to fall to the ground. Probably the mode of administering this sacrament may have varied to suit different circumstances.

When I first began my excavations I used to wander about the plain seeking for mounds or other indication of

the site of the great Temple. In so doing I encountered all sorts of people, who were often of an unprepossessing appearance.

One day a tall, earnest-looking Greek overtook me, and eagerly asked me if I would consent to dig, or allow him to do so under the protection of my firman, in certain places which he would point out to me. He had dreamt, he said, of treasure which lay buried many feet under ground, and he had distinctly seen in his dreams certain subterraneous passages, which led to the door of the chamber containing the treasure. I refused to dig myself on this man's account; but as I had some hope of his striking accidentally upon the wall of some building, or hitting upon some inscription of interest, I so far humoured this dreamer of dreams as to promise him the protection of my firman, in any excavations he might make amongst the ruins of Ephesus, which should be subject to my control or approval, though not at my own expense. With this understanding he set a few men to work, and sank a number of shallow trial holes about the Serapion and elsewhere in the city, thus betraying the fact that his dreams had not clearly defined the situation of the treasure. The workmen employed by him were paid by a silly, superstitious Greek merchant of Smyrna, who probably thought he had a chance of enriching himself more readily by treasure-trove at Ephesus, than by plodding on steadily at his business in Smyrna. Nothing, however, was found to reward the fond expectations of the dreamer and his merchant friend, nor did I gain myself any advantage by the holes dug in search of the hidden

A dreamer.

treasure. When finally the Smyrna merchant became tired of making such unprofitable advances, he did his best, at first by persuasion, and afterwards by threats, to make me pay the whole sum he had disbursed on this fruitless enterprise. I need scarcely say that he was as unsuccessful in this as he had been in his foolish speculation.

There is doubtless all over Asia Minor, a great quantity of hidden treasure which has been thrown down wells, or buried hastily by the inhabitants of towns and villages when attacked by enemies. In peaceful times, also, treasure was probably often buried for the sake of safety from thieves; and from time to time such treasure is found by accident in gardens and cemeteries.

A marble hall.

On exploring the ground in the Forum in front of the great Gymnasium, I found a large Hall, the walls of which were built of brick, and lined with what has recently been designated as 'marble veneering.' Small columns of marble, and niches for statues, adorned it on every side. Amongst the débris were found small marble statuettes of Aphrodite and Hermes (Venus and Mercury).

As the exploration was not continued beyond the limits of this single chamber, it is impossible to say, with any degree of certainty, to what building it belonged.

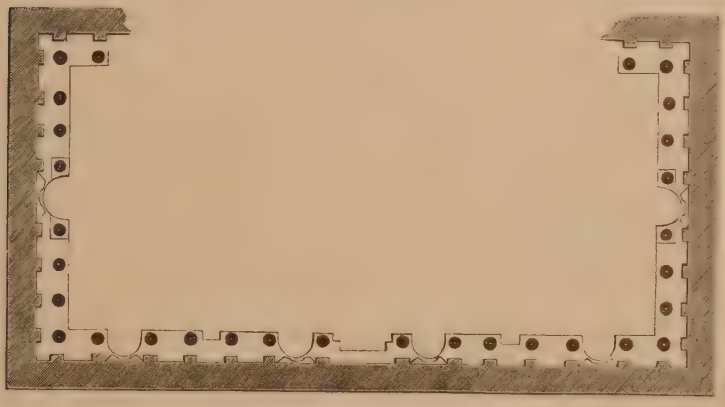
It is to be hoped that one day the whole of the Forum will be explored and its riches brought to light.

Narrow escape.

It was while the workmen were employed in clearing out this Hall, that I had my first warning to be more careful than I had hitherto been. I had been in the habit of going down into all the trial holes without hesitation, but one day, on approaching this particular excavation, I

paused for a moment. As I did so, the whole fell in with a tremendous crash, the débris consisting of large bricks which had formed part of the vaulting of the chamber. From that day I became more careful in the method of sinking trial holes, for my own sake as well as for that of my workmen.

In the course of the explorations which I made outside the city, I found that the whole plain of Ephesus had Silting up.



Plan of Hall near Gymnasium

been silted up to the average height of 12 feet within the last fifteen centuries.

By the close of the year 1863, I had dug seventy-five deep holes, which the land-owners or occupiers called upon me to fill up. I had also dug many other trial holes, and many long trenches in mounds, which it was necessary to cut through without interruption. Some of these had been filled up as they were abandoned, but the majority were at that time left open in case it should be Trial holes and trenches.

necessary to re-examine or enlarge them. The trial holes were about 8 feet by 12 feet, and were invariably carried down with almost perpendicular sides, until we reached the natural soil, pavement, or the foundations of walling. The depth of the holes so dug varied from 12 to 25 feet.

Christian tombs.

I had also sunk a number of trial holes at Ayasalouk on the hill, as well as on the low ground. On the former

Christian Tombstone.

I found some interesting early Christian tombs, one of which had an inscription. I also found on the east side of the hill, near the tombs, some rough but highly glazed mosaic, with some plaster from a wall which is, probably, of the fifth century. One of the occupiers of the land on the west side of the hill objected to my digging a hole in his field, and summoned the Mudir

and the elders of the village to examine the terms of my firman. They therefore assembled in one of the wretched huts which they called the 'konak,' and I attended the conference by invitation. The firman was read aloud by the clerk of the Custom-House, and it was then ascertained that I was obliged to obtain the consent of the owners or occupiers before I could dig in their land. The man who had objected adhered to his resolution not to allow me to continue digging in his field, and I was therefore obliged to fill up the hole I had commenced, and dig in the adjoining field, the owner of which was more obliging.

Suspension of excavations by the Turks.

The next vexatious stoppage of my excavations by the Turkish authorities, occurred early in January 1864. Réchad Bey, who was then the Turkish Commissioner for the Ottoman railway from Smyrna to Aidin, and who was also appointed to watch my proceedings on behalf of the Turkish Government, was persuaded by the Greek who had dreamt of hidden treasure, to forestall me in its discovery at the great Gymnasium, the foundations of which building I was then exploring. Réchad Bey was superstitious enough to listen to the man's story, and became quite eager to discover the treasure. He exerted his influence with the Pasha of Smyrna, who, to oblige him, consented to suspend my excavations till the Bey, finding nothing whatever, had convinced himself of the folly of digging for treasure at Ephesus. He did not, however, draw off his workmen till they had nearly filled up one of my trenches. I was then allowed to resume my excavations, and, after a vain endeavour to obtain

redress for the damage done to my works, I was obliged to re-open the trench at my own expense.

The Consul's joke.

Mr. Charles Blunt, who was then British Consul at Smyrna, in writing to inform me that the difficulties respecting my excavations had been removed, and that I might resume them whenever I pleased, humorously went on to say, that the Pasha of Smyrna merely requested that when I found the *Temple of Diana in duplicate* I would, perhaps, be good enough to inform him of it. Mr. Blunt here referred satirically to the advantageous terms of my firman, which authorised me to export all antiquities *not found in duplicate.*

Gold in statues.

There used to be a very prevalent notion amongst the Turks in Asia Minor, that there was not only much hidden treasure below the surface of the earth, in wells and elsewhere, but that even marble statues might contain gold. This belief has perhaps caused more destruction of beautiful sculpture than any other motive, and it is only within the last few years that the Turks have found it to be a much better speculation to sell statues than to break them to pieces in the hope of finding gold. The religion of the Turk causes him to abhor images, and the consequent destruction of statues may have given rise to the common belief that they broke them in search of gold.

The inclement weather which prevailed during the months of January and February 1864 was very unfavourable for the energetic continuance of the explorations. Very little, therefore, was done at Ephesus during these months. A few Greek inscriptions were found, the

text of which is given in the Appendix,[1] together with the remains of a Roman fountain, composed of three arched recesses, on the south side of the mound, near the stadium on which the Serapion was built. Discoveries.

My search for the Portico of Damianus had hitherto been quite unsuccessful, and it appeared that I had made little or no progress towards the solution of the difficult problem, or the completion of my task, unless, indeed, the system of discovery by exhaustion could be so far taken into account. I had also spent as much time and money as my circumstances would permit. It seemed, then, that I must either obtain a grant of money, or subscriptions, to continue the excavations, or I must abandon them for a time, if not altogether. But on what pretence could I apply to the trustees of the British Museum, or to the Treasury, for assistance at that time? In my perplexity I remembered that I had, years before, seen at Venice a church, the front of which was decorated with pilasters on pedestals, upon which pedestals were carved, if I remember rightly, the plans of Cyprus, Rhodes, and two other cities. It then occurred to me that, although I might not find in any of the ruins of the public buildings in the city of Ephesus, similar bas-reliefs, there was just a chance of finding some idle scratching, which might indicate the direction, if not the exact position, of the Temple in reference to the city; or, if not even this, I might, perhaps find some inscription, giving me a clue to its site. Discouragement. Bas-reliefs at Venice.

This idea, fanciful as it may seem, occurred to me

[1] Sundries from Ephesus.

repeatedly, until I felt convinced that to explore some of the public buildings in the city was the next piece of work to be done. The great Theatre, and the Odeum, or Lyric Theatre, seemed the most likely buildings to commence with, especially as in them would most probably be found sculpture and inscriptions, which would encourage the trustees of the British Museum to recommend the necessary advances for the excavations. I applied, therefore, to the trustees, in the first instance, for the small sum of 100*l.*, to commence the exploration of the ruins of the great Theatre. The grant was voted, not, however, to explore the great Theatre, but the Odeum. I was greatly disappointed, but as the advance was made for a specific purpose, I had no alternative but to bow to the decision of the trustees, and to carry out the instructions which accompanied the grant.

Application for grant.

By the death of Mr. Consul Blunt, which took place on March 3, 1864, I lost a friend, who, in the cause of science, fought several battles for me with the Turkish authorities, and always with success.

Death of Mr. Blunt.

My explorations in the city and the western and northern suburbs had yielded very few miscellaneous antiquities. Small objects could at that time be easily stolen. Amongst those which were handed to me by the workmen, were a colossal foot, sandalled, in white marble; a smaller foot, also in a sandal, of a good period of art; two small torsos, one of them of a nude male, the other of a draped female figure.

Miscellaneous antiquities.

On the Castle Hill at Ayasalouk, close to the 'Gate of Persecution,' as it is called, I found an interesting

Interesting inscription.

Greek inscription of an early period, relating to the art of divination by the flight of birds.[1] This inscription I secured by sawing it off the large block of marble on which it was engraved, and sending it, with other antiquities, to the British Museum.

[1] See Appendix, Sundries from Ephesus.

CHAPTER III.

The Odeum—Fragments of Inscriptions—Turkish Ceremonial at Smyrna—Letters of Antoninus Pius—Publius Vedius Antoninus—Sulpicius Julianus—Letter of Hadrian—The Marble Puzzle—Mode of Working—Search for the Temple—Smyrna and Aidin Railway—St. Paul Fighting with Beasts at Ephesus—Marble Statue—Idleness of Workmen—Female Head—Bishop Trower—Greeks from Kirkenjee—Lucius Verus—The Auditorium—Suspension of Works—Excavations Recommenced—Works Continued—Statue of the Muse Erato—Torso of Silenus—Wreck of Antiquities—Odeum Described—H.R.H. Prince Arthur—Want of Funds—Attempted Assassination—The Châlet—Robbers—St. Luke's Tomb—Christian Graves—Greek Archbishop—St. Luke—Mausoleum—Baffled Efforts—Wool-factors' Hall—Search for Temple—Basilica—Pronunciation of Latin—Shops—St. Luke's Church—Caricature—Fine Greek Wall—Promising Excavations—Destruction by Visitors—Visitors to the Ruins—Luncheon versus Antiquities—Loss of Plant—Store Unroofed—Starvation—Vexatious Stoppage of the Works—Turkish Visit of Inspection.

The Odeum.

WITH my grant of 100*l.* I commenced work at the Odeum about the middle of March 1864, with as large a gang of workmen as my funds would allow. I engaged a Greek named Spiro as ganger to superintend the workmen in my absence, as I was at that time practising as an architect in Smyrna, and could not, therefore, go out to Ephesus every day of the week.

The sum of 100*l.* is not a large one for excavations; but it was all I had asked for by way of a beginning, and it fortunately proved sufficient for discoveries in the

Odeum which justified the trustees afterwards in making further advances, and which led ultimately to successful results.

The site of the Odeum, or lyric theatre, was not a matter of doubt. It was built on the southern slope of Mount Coressus; and even before the excavations were begun, the outer semicircular wall of the auditorium was to be seen above ground at each extremity. I had, therefore, no difficulty in deciding the whereabouts of the proscenium, and I began by cutting at right angles to it a wide trench, which soon exposed to view the outer wall, and the central doorway. I was not long in working my way into the Theatre, and, before the end of the month, I had cleared a considerable portion of the pulpitum or stage, by wheeling the débris out through the central doorway into the open ground in front. On the portion of the stage thus cleared, were found a great number of small pieces of inscribed marble slab, which had fallen upon the pavement from the dado of the proscenium, and were broken, as we afterwards ascertained, into more than one hundred and fifty pieces.

Fragments of inscriptions.

To assist the ganger in carrying out my instructions more readily, I now made a plan of the Odeum from the data at my command, which enabled him during the intervals between my visits, to conduct the work without much difficulty; but many small objects found in the excavations were, I fear, at that time appropriated by both ganger and workmen.

March 20.—This day an interesting ceremonial took place in Smyrna. There had been very little rain for

Turkish ceremonial at Smyrna.

more than two months. Early in the year a great quantity of millet is sown in Asia Minor, and the drought was becoming so serious that on this day about two thousand Turks, all dressed in white, ascended the Castle Hill (Mount Pagus) to pray for rain with outstretched arms. Their voices being raised to a high pitch, were heard at a great distance. Their prayers appear to have been answered, for my journal records 'slight showers,' and then 'continuous rain.'

Letters of Antoninus Pius.

By the end of March, nearly the whole of the fragments of the inscriptions from the proscenium of the Odeum had been found, and these, on being put together in their relative positions, were seen to consist of five inscriptions, four of which were letters addressed by the Emperor Antoninus Pius to the people of Ephesus. Two of them bear the date of the 8th tribunitian power of that Emperor, A.D. 145–6; another was written during his 13th tribunitian power, A.D. 150–1.

Publius Vedius Antoninus.

The name of Publius Vedius Antoninus, hitherto unknown in history, is mentioned in the two earlier inscriptions. He was Secretary or Clerk to the city at that time, and, under his auspices, were erected, either wholly or in part, the Odeum and other public buildings in that quarter of the city. These services were rewarded, as I afterwards ascertained, by the erection of a statue to his honour by the wool-factors in their hall or market.

Sulpicius Julianus.

The Imperial Procurator, Sulpicius Julianus, is also mentioned in these inscriptions.

Letter of Hadrian.

The fifth inscription is a letter addressed by the Emperor Hadrian to the people of Ephesus.

The fragments of these inscriptions were taken down to Smyrna piece by piece as they were found, and almost the only amusement in the evening which I then allowed myself, was to put together the pieces of this marble puzzle, in which I was often assisted by Mrs. Wood and visitors. The marble puzzle.

I continued to clear out the whole of the débris from the interior of the Odeum, wheeling it out through the doorways, which were found to be five in number. Mode of working.

During the time I was exploring the Odeum, I did not fail to study the ground outside the city in search of the Temple, and from time to time I put one or two men to open up any suspicious-looking mound which attracted my attention. Search for the Temple.

The work at the Odeum proceeded now but slowly, in consequence of the immense number of large blocks of stone and marble which, having fallen from the superstructure, had blocked up all the entrances, covering the stage, and the adjoining passages. Many of these blocks were too large to be removed to a distance.

The Smyrna and Aidin Railway Company had this year (1864) provided first-class carriages on their line. The journey, therefore, between Smyrna and Ayasalouk was made with greater comfort; but it still took fully three hours to traverse a distance of scarcely fifty miles. There are ten intermediate stations between Smyrna and Ayasalouk. Smyrna and Aidin Railway.

April 13.—Dr. Kay, Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, and then Principal of the College at Calcutta, came to Smyrna on his way home to England. He visited

Ephesus, and proved himself one of those who really appreciated the great interest of the ruins. I here mention his name, chiefly because he agreed with me in thinking that St. Paul, in referring to his having 'fought with beasts at Ephesus,' did not mean to assert that he had actually fought with lions and other wild animals in an arena, but that he had contended at Ephesus with the evil passions of wicked men.

Many visitors to the ruins have asked to be shown the arena in which St. Paul fought!

If St. Paul had fought with wild beasts, he would have mentioned it in the enumeration of his trials and adversities so pathetically set forth in Corinthians, epistle 2, ch. xi.

Marble statue.

April 25.—A fine white marble statue of a seated female was found in the Odeum.

Idleness of workmen.

May 2.—On visiting the Odeum to-day I found no men at work. The orchestra had been dug into to a certain extent, and the débris from the upper part of the building was here about 16 feet in depth. The ganger (Spiro) and myself set to work, and brought down, with our united efforts, a great number of large stones, with which the interior was encumbered, and we found some more fragments of the inscriptions from the proscenium. I therefore left orders for the whole of the orchestra to be thoroughly cleared out to the pavement, when the men returned to their work; but, as the hot weather had begun, it was doubtful whether they would work, exposed as they must be, in the Odeum, to the great heat of the sun, made more

trying by the quantities of white marble which reflected it.

Female head.

May 7.—A few men had resumed work, and this day a small female head was found in the Odeum. This is one of the pieces of sculpture which were afterwards ceded to the Turkish Government for their museum at Constantinople.

Bishop Trower.

May 12.—Bishop Trower (then of Gibraltar) visited the ruins of Ephesus, accompanied by his wife and daughters. The bishop is an accomplished artist, and he made four or five beautiful sketches of the ruins in the course of his ramble through them.

Greeks from Kirkenjee.

Sometimes, on holiday occasions, large groups of Greeks from Kirkenjee visited the ruins to see what was going on. These were chiefly composed of women and children in charge of one or two old men. Sometimes a young man would accompany them, who was probably the betrothed of one of the young women. The women were remarkable for the unconstrained ease and grace of their movements, as well as for their pretty costume of many colours; and the children were generally healthy-looking and beautiful.

Lucius Verus.

The lower part of a fine statue of Lucius Verus was found near the central doorway of the Odeum about this time; this is now in the Roman gallery of the British Museum. The plinth on which the statue is placed is inscribed with the name of the Emperor.[1] I afterwards found the upper part of this statue; but it never reached England, as will be seen hereafter.

[1] See Appendix, Sundries, &c.

The auditorium.

May 17.—On visiting the Odeum this day, I found that the workmen had laid bare eleven steps of the auditorium—these were of fine white marble, and were ornamented, as usual, with lions' claws. I afterwards found that all the seats and steps remained undisturbed.

Suspension of works.

During the months of June, July, and August the excavations were almost entirely suspended, the ganger, as well as the men, finding the weather much too hot for work among marbles which reflected so much light and heat. The few men who might have been hired, notwithstanding the heat, asked as much as fifteen piastres a day, their ordinary wages being only ten piastres (about 1*s.* 9*d.*).

While the works were suspended, I made copies, and took paper pressings, of all the inscriptions I could find on the surface and elsewhere; but the strong wind which set in from the sea made it very difficult to make good impressions, and it seemed always to rise as I placed the paper against the marble. This may be accounted for by the fact of my generally beginning this part of my work about the time that the sea breeze sprung up.

Excavations resumed.

Towards the end of August I engaged a fresh ganger, a Catholic, named Joseph; and, with a fresh set of workmen, I resumed my exploration of the Odeum, and at the same time put one or two men on the large mound covering the ruins of the proscenium of the great Theatre.

The new ganger proved a great failure, making a number of stupid mistakes during my absence; and, finally, when, on visiting the works on October 1, I found

1864.

him and the men quietly seated, doing nothing, I at once discharged them all, and again suspended the works till I should have more funds at my disposal, and had succeeded in finding another ganger and better workmen.

The Muse Erato.

The difficulty of getting an honest, industrious, conscientious ganger and good workmen was one of the many hindrances and impediments to which I was more especially subjected for the first six years at Ephesus.

Whilst the excavations were suspended, I employed all the time I could devote to it, to the completion of my survey for the general plan of the city, which will be found in this book.

Works continued.

In December, the works were renewed at the Odeum with fresh workmen, funds having been voluntarily subscribed by private individuals to the amount of 87*l.*

Statue of the Muse Erato.

At the end of the eastern passage was found an interesting white marble headless statue, life-size, of the Muse Erato, with the seven-stringed lyre on a pedestal by her side. This statue had evidently fallen from a niche upon the pavement below. In one of the small passages near the central doorway, was found a small torso, partly draped, intended probably for Silenus. By the side of the figure is sculptured a curious vase, which rests on a stand designed seemingly to represent a tripod of metal; on the top of the vase is a phiale, in which are a phallus and a crescent.

Torso of Silenus.

Wreck of antiquities.

The statue of Erato, the upper part of the statue of Lucius Verus, and some other antiquities from the Odeum, were, unfortunately, put on board the 'Cornish Lass,' a sailing vessel, which was wrecked on the coast near Syra. When the statue of Erato was recovered, the lyre was missing, and the drapery had been so much damaged by the sea, which had washed off all the sharp edges, that it was not considered worth forwarding to England. The last time I saw it, it was in the house of Mr. Lloyd, who was at that time both British Consul and Lloyd's agent at Syra.

The Odeum had been a very handsome building.

The circular outer wall is composed of large blocks of limestone, without mortar, from the quarries on Mount Coressus, on the south side of which it was built. The front wall, with its five doorways, and the whole of the internal finishings, are of fine white marble, excepting

The Odeum described.

Torso of Silenus

the shafts of the columns which had fallen from the semi-circular colonnade above; these are of Egyptian syenite. The whole of these works were Roman, and were probably done under Publius Vedius Antoninus in the time of Antoninus Pius.

The diameter of the Odeum is 153 feet, and it was capable of seating 2,300 persons. The pulpitum (stage) is extremely narrow, being little more than 10 feet deep. The orchestra is spacious, and is sunk nearly 3 feet below the pulpitum. It is paved with white marble, and there is a small ornamental circular drain-cover of marble on the east side. In front of the Odeum I found remains of white marble fluted columns, and well carved Corinthian capitals. These might either have formed part of a colonnade in front, or they might have adorned the proscenium. The débris at the extremities of the passages of the Odeum rested on the pavement to the height of 23 feet. It consisted chiefly of large blocks of marble and limestone.

H.R.H. Prince Arthur.

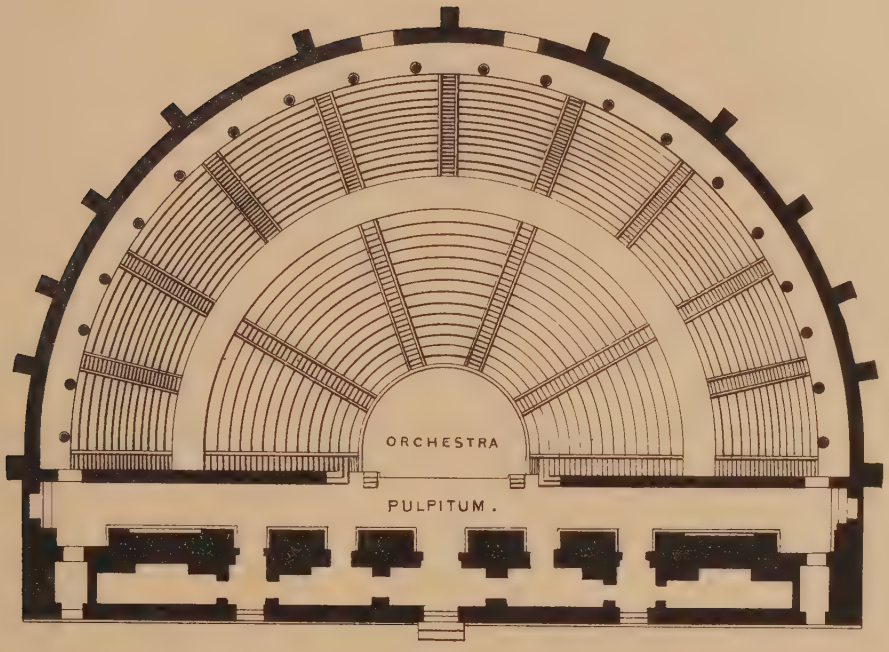
In the month of April 1865, H.R.H. Prince Arthur visited the ruins of Ephesus, accompanied by Major (now Colonel Sir Howard) Elphinstone. I had afterwards the honour of joining the suite of His Royal Highness, and accompanied him in a cruise to Mitylene, Pergamos, and Assos. At Assos the Turks were removing the marble seats of the theatre, and conveying them to Constantinople, where a large palace was in progress. On our return to Smyrna, I was honoured by an invitation to accompany the Prince on another cruise, returning to Assos, and onward to Mount Athos; but as Mrs. Wood was dangerously ill with bronchitis, I was most kindly excused accepting the invitation.

1865.

Want of funds.

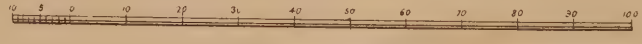
For a great portion of the year 1865, the excavations were at a standstill for want of funds, but I waited, with what patience I could muster, for another advance from

THE ODEUM,
EPHESUS.



PLAN.

ELEVATION OF EXISTING REMAINS.



SCALE OF FEET.

the Trustees to continue the works. I should not, however, have been able to attend to the works for five or six weeks, as I was ill during that time from a wound I received in Smyrna from the knife of a madman, who had taken a dislike to English Consuls, in consequence of some fancied injustice done him by some English Consul in the Principalities where he had formerly lived. He at last resolved to lie in wait for, and to kill the English Consul at Smyrna. On the morning on which he determined to carry out his design the streets of Smyrna were full of people, who had, for the first time for many weeks, ventured out in large numbers, after a cholera panic, which had kept the streets clear while it lasted. Only seven deaths posted on the door of the Consulate that morning, showed that the disease was leaving the city. I was at that time building the terminal station of the Cassaba railway, and, meeting the agent of that line, walked with him down Frank Street. When we arrived nearly opposite the English Consulate, the man, who waited for the Consul, and who had primed himself with some stimulant, became impatient, and seeing two Englishmen coming down the street, one of whom (my companion) showed in his appearance strong signs of his nationality, he rushed upon him and drove his knife through the hand he held up to defend himself with. In a few seconds I was left alone in the middle of the street, confronted with the man, who now sought to escape. Seeing that I barred his passage to the sea, he rushed towards me with the exclamation, 'Et vous aussi!' I endeavoured to defend myself with a slight walking-

Attempted assassination.

stick I was then carrying, but he struck up my guard, rushed in, and stabbed me within an inch of my heart; the police came up in time to prevent a second blow, and seized him. The people, who had retired to a safe distance, then closed in upon me, and proffered the assistance I no longer needed. When the assassin was taken before the Pacha, he told the story of his life, and narrated how he had murdered his mother in cold blood, and why he intended to kill the Consul. The doctors pronounced the man to be mad, and he was confined in an asylum, where he died, raving mad, within twelve months.

The Châlet.

During part of the time that I was employed in exploring the Odeum, I lived in a small house in the Ephesus Pass, which had been built for one of the resident engineers of the Smyrna and Aidin railway. This house was appropriately called the Châlet.

Robbers.

During my residence here, I was in constant danger of being attacked by a band of ten robbers who infested the neighbourhood, and had broken into several houses in the Pass. It was their habit to maltreat, and leave the inhabitants tied to their bedsteads and other heavy pieces of furniture, in order that they might make good their escape before an alarm could be raised. In doing this, they were favoured by the extreme loneliness of the situation, and the distance from the nearest police station, which was then at the entrance to the Pass.

As it might be supposed that I kept money by me in readiness to pay my workmen and other current expenses, I fully expected to be attacked, and made arrangements accordingly.

My greatest danger was when I returned home in the evening, accompanied by a single cavass, who always went down with a jar on our arrival, to fetch fresh water from the stream which runs through the Pass. I was then left alone on the balcony outside the house, which could

The Châlet, Ephesus Pass

have been easily approached from an ambush at the back, the undergrowth on the side of the mountain affording a thick cover close to the house. We had one or two alarms, but were never attacked as our neighbours were, and I believe our escape was mainly owing to the pre-

caution I took in placing a loaded revolver by my side on the dinner table, which could be seen from the outside.

A pistol bullet which had passed through the floor of the balcony and lodged in the roof was found one day, but when or under what circumstances the shot was fired, we did not know. It might have been accidental, or it might have been done in sport by some passer-by.

Zébecks.

One day, while the Odeum was still being explored, and I was personally superintending the exploration of a mound at a little distance from it, my ganger came running to me without his hat, and in great apparent alarm, to warn me that some Zébecks were at the Odeum. They had taken a sheep by force and were likely to come on to me to rob me. He had given them tobacco, and had done what he could to conciliate them, but they were desperate thieves and were not to be trusted. Whether there was any truth in all this, I never knew, but I thought it better for many reasons to stand my ground. For one thing, I suspected that the whole story might be an invention of the ganger to test my courage and character. I did not, therefore, take his advice and go home; and seeing that I remained, one of the workmen (a Greek) coolly suggested that I should put my watch and money in a hole which he would dig for them!

St. Luke's tomb.

In walking home one evening to the Châlet from my work at the Odeum, a distance of about three miles, my weary foot, scarcely lifted from the ground, struck against a block of marble which, on examination, proved to be carved with the head of a Greek cross in a sunk panel.

I excavated the next day in this place, which was not far from the Odeum. The marble proved to be a door-jamb with sunk panels, the upper one having a large cross, the lower one having the figure of a bull or buffalo of the country, with a small cross cut over its back. On the inner side of the door-jamb there were the remains of a human figure which had been carved upon it. This

Door-jamb, St. Luke's Tomb

had evidently represented a saint or martyr. The head had been encircled by a nimbus, which, having been sunk in the marble, remained perfect. One or two persons who have seen it, think they can trace the remains of a sword which had been run through the body, thus representing a martyr.

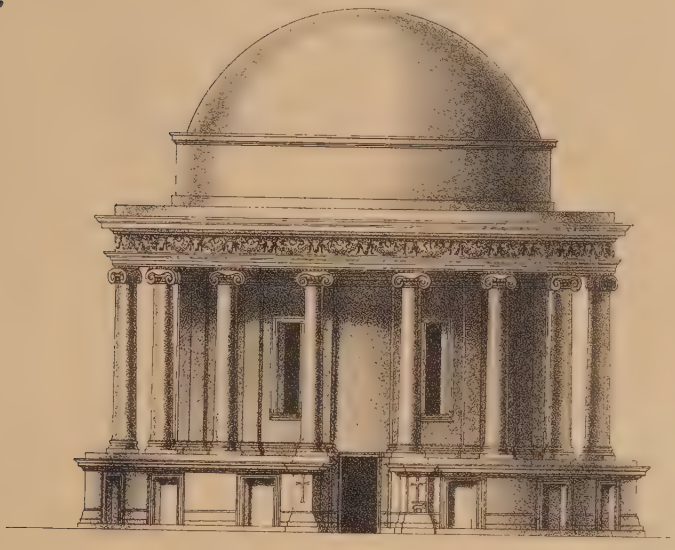
I was encouraged by these symbols and details to believe that I had found the tomb of St. Luke, or at least his shrine, the bull having been known as his symbol as early as the fifth century. But this building, probably, belonged to the latter end of the third, or beginning of the fourth century, when Christianity had the ascendency at Ephesus, and doubtless the Christians had the power of removing the remains of St. Luke from outside the city, where he would have been buried in the first instance, and according him the honour of burial within the city.

Over his remains, presuming that this was indeed his tomb, they raised the beautiful shrine, of which I found enough to enable me to restore it on paper. It was circular on plan, 50 feet in diameter, and was adorned with sixteen columns, which were raised upon a lofty basement; an ornate entablature and domed roof completed the structure. This beautiful building stood in the middle of a quadrangle 153 feet across, which was surrounded on all sides by a colonnade, several bases of the columns of which remain in position. It must have somewhat resembled Burns's monument on Calton Hill, Edinburgh, but on a much larger scale.

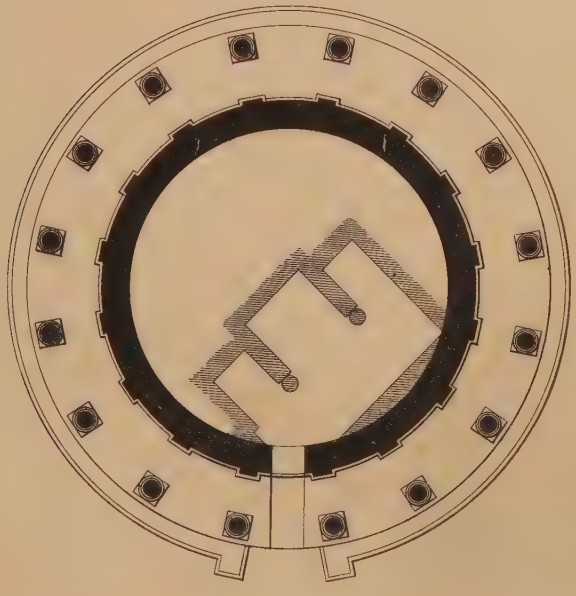
Christian graves.

The quadrangle was paved with white marble, and wherever a slab of this pavement was removed, a grave was seen immediately below it. I may add that I did not remove many of these slabs, as I have a great objection to the unnecessary disturbance of human remains. This discovery of graves goes far to prove that this was indeed the tomb of St. Luke, as we know that the early Christians paid large sums of money for the privilege of

ST LUKE'S TOMB, EPHESUS.



ELEVATION.



PLAN.

SCALE OF FEET.

being buried near a saint or martyr, especially when it happened, as in this case, that the tomb was within the city. I am inclined to think, therefore, that these were the graves of Christians.

The Archbishop of Smyrna.

When I first found this building and its interesting surroundings, I wished to have my discovery verified, if possible, by the records of history, and I called upon the Greek Archbishop of Smyrna, who had a good library of ecclesiastical books, to consult him on the subject. He obligingly took down the books of two historians, one of whom tells us that St. Luke was hung at Patras, the other that he died at Ephesus. I was content to think, with the Archbishop, that the latter historian was much the more trustworthy of the two.

Mausoleum.

While I proceeded with my exploration of the Odeum, I did not neglect to open ground against several of the public buildings which surrounded the adjacent Forum. I found in this manner a large circular Roman building directly opposite the Odeum. This was probably a mausoleum. I did not succeed in finding any inscription here, as it was only partly explored, nor did I succeed in working my way inside the building, although I afterwards tried hard to do so during two hot days in the month of July, with the assistance of an English workman, nicknamed 'Scandalous Jack.' We worked from the top, through six feet of solid masonry, without any change of sound to show that we were approaching the interior.

Baffled efforts.

Woolfactors' hall.

Another building near this we explored to a greater extent, being encouraged to do so by the discovery of a fine Roman head of heroic size, together with several

inscriptions, one of which was a dedication to Publius Vedius Antoninus by the wool-factors. This building, then, was probably their hall or market.

Search for Temple.

I also explored a large mound at the eastern extremity of the ravine between Mounts Prion and Coressus. At that time this mound seemed to be outside the city, and I thought that it might cover the site of the Temple; but I eventually found that it was within the city walls, which I succeeded in tracing around it on the three outer sides. Below the débris of mediæval buildings, I found that a chalk hill formed the basis of this large mound, which had been artificially squared up to the city walls enclosing it, and it thus presented a very formal and promising appearance. This spot I had selected as the probable site of the Temple, on being asked by the Trustees where I should propose to dig for it, if I should be permitted to spend 50*l.* of my grant in 1866, in search of it.

Basilica.

Near the tomb of St. Luke I explored another building, which appeared to have been a basilica. The street front had been richly adorned with fluted columns with Corinthian capitals, similar to those of the Odeum, and ornate entablatures, all of white marble. Many fragments of an inscription were found in front with the débris of the building. A seated statue of T. Claudius Secundus was here found upon a pedestal, with a dedication inscribed in Latin, which enumerated his various offices; viz. Viator Tribunicius, Accensus Velatus, and Lictor Curiatus. This inscription is repeated in Latin with Greek characters, showing that the Greeks had, at

[1] See Appendix, Sundries from Ephesus.

that time, learnt to speak, though not to read, the language of the Romans; and some light is here thrown upon the true pronunciation of some Latin vowels and consonants. The *u* was evidently pronounced, as the Italians now pronounce it, *oo*, being represented by the Greek characters omicron and upsilon; the Latin *c* is represented by the Greek kappa, and the Latin *e* by the

Pronunciation of Latin.

Graffito from Basilica.

Greek eta. Along the sides of this building were recesses, which had evidently served as workshops, and in one I found a number of ox bones which had been sawn by a fine saw, and had been cleaned and prepared for the handles of knives, &c. At the south end I could just trace the curve of an apse. This building probably became a church, and it might have been dedicated to

Shops.

St. Luke's Church.

Caricature.

St. Luke, as it is near his tomb. Upon its front wall is scratched a curious caricature. Amongst the débris we found the torso of a male, about life size, of a good period.

Fine Greek wall.

The partial exploration of another building near the Odeum, revealed a magnificent Greek wall, which probably belonged to a small temple. The street by the side of this wall was very precipitous, and the marble pavement was deeply nicked transversely, to prevent accidents to foot passengers. No statuary or inscriptions were found here to encourage further exploration of the building.

All these buildings have been allowed to remain exposed to view as far as they have been opened up; and future explorers, whether English, American, French, or German, will have the benefit of what has been already done.

Promising excavations.

There is no doubt in my mind that excavations at Ephesus amongst the ruins of the city, as well as on the site of the Temple, and within the Peribolus Wall, would well repay the outlay, if conducted with liberality and good management.

When the Odeum was first opened, the stage, orchestra, seats, and steps were found in a perfect state of preservation, under an accumulation of soil and débris, varying in depth from 5 feet to 23 feet, the former depth on the upper part of the auditorium, the latter at the extreme ends of the passages. The beautiful front wall also remained, with its five doorways and steps, to the height of 7 feet 6 inches. Visitors have recklessly destroyed much that remained, by breaking off fragments of marble from the seats and cornices, and by

Destruction by visitors.

INTERIOR OF ODEUM.

M & N HANHART LITH

strewing the whole of the interior with masses of rejected marble, and chippings from the specimens which they carried away. One day after the Odeum had been cleared out, a party of about thirty people came while I was there, and began throwing the marbles about. I could not look on and forbear speaking; and what I said was uttered in so fierce and threatening a manner that it stopped further destruction by that party. The desire to possess fragments of ancient sculpture, such as a nose, an ear, a finger, or a morsel of architectural moulding from an old building, may be natural, but is most deplorable when it causes, as it often does, the utter destruction of works of art, which, placed in some museum, would be objects of very great interest. I have even heard of captains of merchant ships who, bringing passengers to Smyrna, advised them on their visit to Ephesus, to take with them hammers and chisels to aid them in obtaining interesting specimens for their cabinets and curiosity shelves at home. I have, however, met with some few scrupulous persons, who would scarcely accept a small fragment, and have asked repeatedly, 'Quite sure you don't want it?' before they would be persuaded to take it away.

Visitors to the ruins.

Visitors to Ephesus came from all parts of the known world; but I have seen there, perhaps, more of our American cousins than of any other nationality. I was particularly fortunate in meeting with many Americans—ladies as well as gentlemen—who caused me to form a very high estimate of the American character. I found them generally anxious to make something more than a superficial survey of the ruins, and I do not now remem-

ber any party of Americans preferring to sit down to eat and drink to making a careful examination of all the interesting objects they had come to see. I cannot say the same of all nationalities. I overtook one day on the Plain of Ephesus, while I was exploring the Odeum, a party of gentlemen belonging to various nations. They were making their way on foot from the railway station to the ruins, accompanied by two porters, bearing each a hamper of provisions. Two of these gentlemen, of whom I had some knowledge, were very anxious to make the best use of their time, and 'do' the ruins thoroughly; the others were perfectly careless of anything but the very important question as to where they should eat the luxurious luncheon which they had brought from Smyrna. Seeing the disposition of the majority, I foresaw that, unless I provided against it, the gentlemen who really wished to see something would be entirely baffled. I therefore told the porters (*sotto voce*) to carry the hampers to the Odeum as fast as possible. As I anticipated, before we got half-way to the Odeum, one of the most indolent of the party threw himself on the ground, and declared he would go no farther in the heat. He was, however, persuaded to change his mind, when I told him that the luncheon had been sent straight to the Odeum, about a mile off, and he must either follow to partake of it, or remain behind without refreshment. This had the desired effect. Dearly loving his mid-day meal, he managed to struggle on with the other discontented members of the party; passing unheeded everything of interest on his way. After lunching in a pleasant

Luncheon versus antiquities.

shady place near the Odeum, they could not be persuaded to enter the Little Theatre, and see what remained of it.

During the whole time that my workmen were employed in digging trial holes in every direction, I had the greatest difficulty in keeping my 'plant' together at Ephesus. The men would leave their picks and shovels and any other tools which they had in use, in the holes and trenches, or they would leave them on the top, scarcely hidden by the loose earth thrown out of the holes, instead of carrying them home to their sleeping places. The tools left on the top were often stolen, and those left in the holes were frequently buried by the falling in of the sides of the excavation. My store-room or magazine at that time was an old barrack near the railway station at Ayasalouk, which had been used as a refreshment-room for the workmen on the railway, while the works were going on at that part of the line, and was sold by the railway company to a Caffèjee, who, without giving me any notice whatever, began to unroof it early one morning, leaving my stock of tools and implements at the mercy of anyone who might take a fancy to them. This is a specimen of the free and easy ways of the people of the country. The man wanted the materials of this old barrack to use in a new building, and he hit upon the readiest way of obtaining them, fancying, perhaps, that I might not be able to pay the needful attention to any notice he might give me. To such petty annoyances as this I was constantly subjected, and with the frequent attacks of fever to which I was a victim, and the anxiety naturally resulting from the uncertainty of my enterprise, these

Loss of 'plant.'

Store unroofed.

annoyances helped to keep my temper in a constant state of ferment. In this case I was detained from my work at the excavations, by being obliged to seek another store room for my 'plant,' and have it conveyed thither immediately.

Among other annoyances there was so much difficulty in obtaining meat at this time, that I was sometimes entirely without any for three or four days. As I am not exactly a vegetarian, I felt the loss of my accustomed food very much, and I had great difficulty at such times, through sheer weakness, in getting through my day's work.

Vexatious stoppage of works.

The excavations were frequently impeded, and sometimes altogether stopped, by the Turkish authorities. This was generally brought about by the interference of the Kaimachan of Scala Nova, on the complaint of the landowners or occupiers, who had a very natural dislike to seeing large and deep holes and trenches dug in their ground. On such occasions our Consul at Smyrna has had very little difficulty in arranging for the continuance of the work, and, from first to last, no sort of bribe, either in money or presents, has ever passed from me into the hands of Turkish officials.

Turkish visit or inspection.

Cabouli Pasha, then Governor of Smyrna, was repeatedly told by intriguing persons that I was constantly finding beautiful statues. Hearing this, and other vague reports as to my proceedings, he sent his secretary to Ephesus to inspect the works. This gentleman, who came in patent leather boots, and sumptuous clothing to match, lunched with me in the Great Theatre. On looking down into a few of my trial holes, at the risk of falling into

them, as they were approached with some difficulty, and seeing their unpromising appearance, he was satisfied, not only that I had found nothing to excite the envy or cupidity of anyone, but that I was not likely to find anything of consequence. With this assurance the Pasha was well content, and he troubled me no more with enquiries.

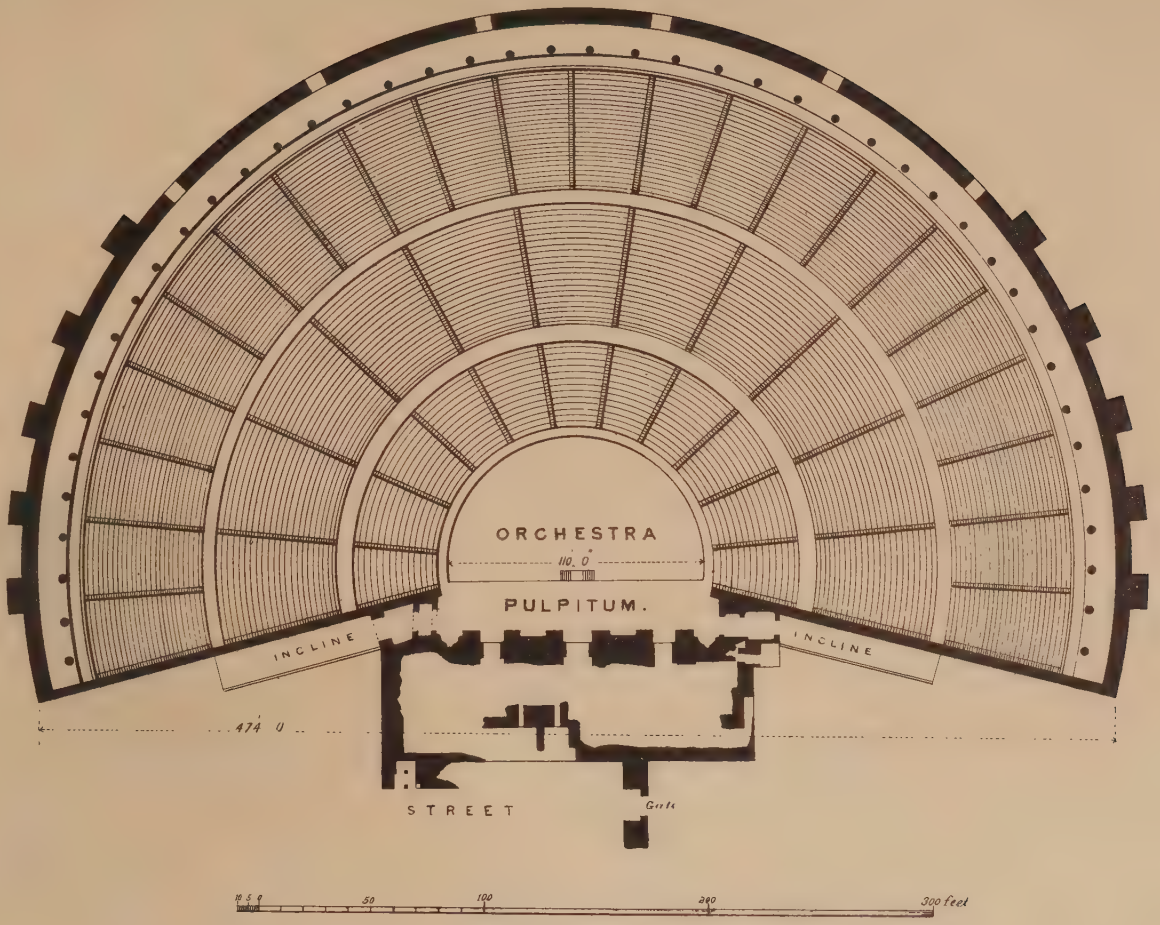
CHAPTER IV.

The Great Theatre—Inscriptions from Temple of Artemis—Other Inscriptions—The Great Salutarian Inscription—Image of Artemis—Sculpture—Survey of Buildings—Accident—Obstinacy—Priêné—Ill-health—Head of Lucius Verus—Search for Temple Resumed—City Wall—Rubbish Heap—A Hundred and Ten Inscriptions—Change of Residence—Fate of Châlet—Magnesian Gate Found—Coressian Gate—Mounts Prion and Coressus—Old Legend—H.M.S. 'Terrible'—Quarters for Crew—Men of the 'Terrible' at Ephesus—A Quaint Petty Officer—Skill of Workmen at the British Museum—Officers of the 'Terrible'—New Ganger—Threats of Violence—Suspected Murder—A Greek Marriage—Longevity—Arrest of Workmen—Murdered Man Exhumed—Prisoners—Patience of Mudir—State of the Country—My Reception at the Konak—Liberation of Prisoners—Return to Ephesus—Murder made Easy.

Great Theatre.

In the month of February 1866, having obtained the necessary advances from the Trustees, I began in good earnest the exploration of the Great Theatre, which is one of the largest in Asia Minor. It is built on the western slope of Mount Coressus, and from the upper seats may be seen a long strip of blue sea. Its diameter is 495 feet, and like most theatres of this description, it is of a horse-shoe form. As the wings approach the proscenium, the width is diminished by 28 feet, the measurement at the end of the walls being 467 feet. By my computations this vast theatre was capable of seating 24,500 persons. A large archway on the north side of the outer wall of the audi-

PLAN OF GREAT THEATRE,
EPHESUS.



torium is of the period of Augustus. This archway was afterwards blocked up as shown in woodcut, and this was probably done at a later period, when the Theatre was partly rebuilt. The stage, or pulpitum, was nearly 22 feet wide; the orchestra 110 feet in diameter. The proscenium, built almost entirely of white marble, was

Roman Arch, Great Theatre

adorned with granite columns and highly enriched entablatures of fine white marble, in two tiers. All these, having fallen upon the stage, remained there undisturbed. A portion of these entablatures consisted of fretwork in white marble, filled in with strips of porphyry. I proceeded to remove as many of the blocks of marble as was necessary to clear a portion of the stage for its whole

Inscriptions from Temple of Artemis.

width. I then turned over and carefully examined the remainder, and took all the inscriptions and sculpture that were worth sending to England. Amongst them were found six large blocks of white marble, covered with decrees of the Council and the people of Ephesus, which had originally belonged to the last Temple of Artemis, showing that the proscenium had been repaired after the destruction of the Temple. These decrees conferred the honour of Ephesian citizenship on various persons for their services. One of these was Agathokles, a Rhodian, who, during a time of dearth, had sent into the market at Ephesus 14,000 measures of corn to be sold for the benefit of the poor at a low price. Two other decrees reward Euphronios, son of Hegemon, for his services in an embassy to Prepelaus, general of Cassander, about B.C. 310; and Archestratos, for his services as general in Clazomenæ.

Another decree confers the citizenship and gold crowns on Kings Demetrius and Seleucus, and honours their envoy, Nicagoras, a Rhodian. This inscription is probably not later than B.C. 299. In another, Kings Antigonus and Demetrius are mentioned. Another decree rewards some one who had redeemed from captivity certain Ephesians taken prisoners in war. Some of these decrees give new and valuable information as to the history of Ephesus in the Macedonian period. We also find in them the names of five local tribes and many of their subdivisions, some of the latter having been hitherto unknown.[1]

[1] See Appendix: Inscriptions from the Temple, Nos. 1 to 25.

Other inscriptions.

A few more inscriptions found in the Great Theatre, are worthy of mention here :—

A letter from the Emperor Hadrian to the people of Ephesus, relating to certain disputes as to loans, in consequence of which the Emperor sent the copy of a decree to Cornelius Priscus, the pro-consul, referring to that functionary the settlement of the matters in dispute, and the recovery of all debts due to the senate. The date of this letter is A.D. 120.

A fragment of inscription which appears to have been part of a letter addressed to the people of Ephesus by some Emperor or public functionary, relates to a public banquet, forming part, apparently, of a festival in honour of a goddess, probably Demeter, here styled Soteira (Saviour), whose temple and statue are mentioned. The name of the Emperor Commodus also occurs in this inscription.

Some fragments of a Latin constitutio or law, relating to the alimony of infants, in which reference is made to a previous constitutio framed by Vedius Pollio, probably the historical personage of that name who lived in the time of Augustus.

The following also were found :—

A dedication by the council and people of Ephesus in honour of Caius Julius Agrippa, son of 'King Alexander,' quæstor and proprætor of Asia.

Dedication, probably of a statue, to the Emperor Antoninus Pius, by the council and people of Ephesus.

Fragments of a dedication to the Emperors Septimius Severus and Caracalla.

Dedication, partly in Latin, by Junius Pastor, Cæsennius Sospes, proprætor of Asia, and holder of other high offices.

Some fragments of lists of persons who had sacrificed, perhaps, at the Temple of Artemis.

Dedication, probably of a statue, by the council and people of Ephesus, to Julius Lupus Lambillus, quæstor and proprætor of three pro-consuls.

Part of an inscription recording the names of the secretaries of the council of the Misthoterion, and of the superintendents of the Deipnophoriac procession.

List of victories gained by an athlete in various games.

List of victories in pugilistic contests, gained by an athlete in public games at various cities.

Inscription recording the dedication to an athlete and his victories in the Olympic and various other games.

Inscription recording two agonistic victories, probably in musical or lyrical contests.

Inscription in honour of some one who was three times Olympic victor.[1] It may be remarked that on the return of such a victor to his native city, the wall of the city was sometimes broken down for his triumphal entrance, as for an Emperor.

The architrave of the southern entrance door was inscribed with the name of Publius Rutilius Bassus, who was town clerk in the time of Hadrian, A.D. 120, as we learn by inscription No. 17.

Most of these inscriptions were found on the stage of

[1] For these inscriptions, see Appendix: Inscriptions from Great Theatre.

The Great Salutarian Inscription.

the Great Theatre; but there was a much greater prize awaiting my discovery. I had examined the marbles on the stage by turning them over from north to south. When I came to clear the southern entrance I found the whole of the eastern wall of that entrance inscribed with a series of decrees, chiefly relating to a number of gold and silver images, weighing from three to seven pounds each, which were voted to Artemis, and ordered to be placed in her Temple, by a certain wealthy Roman, named C. Vibius Salutarius.[1] At the same time he gave a sum of money by way of endowment for keeping them clean and in order. On a certain day of assembly in the Theatre, viz., May 25, which was the birthday of the goddess, these images were to be carried in procession from the Temple to the Theatre by the priests, accompanied by a staff-bearer and guards, and to be met at the Magnesian gate by the Ephebi or young men of the city, who, from that point, took part in the procession, and helped to carry the images to the Theatre. After the assembly, the statues or images were taken back to the Temple in the same order of procession, escorted by the Ephebi as far as the Coressian gate. Among the statues enumerated in the inscription, are those of Artemis, with two stags, and a figure, probably a female, representing the city of Ephesus. In one of the decrees contained in this inscription, the consuls of the year A.D. 104 are mentioned. In another, the Emperor Trajan is mentioned as then reigning. The date of the whole inscription is probably not much later than A.D. 104.

[1] See Appendix: Inscriptions from Theatre No. 1.

It will be observed that the procession above described made the complete circuit of the city, and in its course the images must have been seen by great numbers of the inhabitants, and thus the vanity of C. Vibius Salutarius was gratified as far as these statues were concerned.

Another inscription in Latin, found also in the Great Theatre, records the dedication by Vibius Salutarius of several silver images, and enumerates a list of offices held by him in Sicily and other provinces; some of these offices being made known to us for the first time by this inscription.

The Great Theatre, in which these inscriptions relating to the gold and silver images were found, was doubtless the theatre mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles as the scene of the uproar caused by the manufacturers of silver shrines for the Temple of Artemis.

The fact that the enthusiastic outcry 'Great is Diana of the Ephesians!' was sustained for two hours, led me to picture to myself the Temple as being within sight of the people in the Theatre, who would thus be inspired by the glory and beauty of the building before their eyes. But from the Theatre the Temple could not possibly be seen. The view is broken by Mount Coressus, and the enthusiastic conduct of the people must therefore be ascribed wholly to their superstitious faith in the goddess, and their strong partizanship for the shrine-makers.[1]

[1] Acts xix. 23, &c.

THE GREAT THEATRE _ EPHESUS.

M & N HANHART LITH

Image of Artemis.

We are also told that the Ephesians at that time worshipped an image of Diana, which was believed to have fallen from Jupiter. This might have been an aerolite of an unusually large size, which resembled in some respects the human form, and which might have been perfected, and made into a fitting representation of

Bust of an Emperor.

the goddess by a sculptor and his assistants before it was set up in her Temple. Some aerolites have been found in Greenland weighing as much as nineteen tons.

Sculpture.

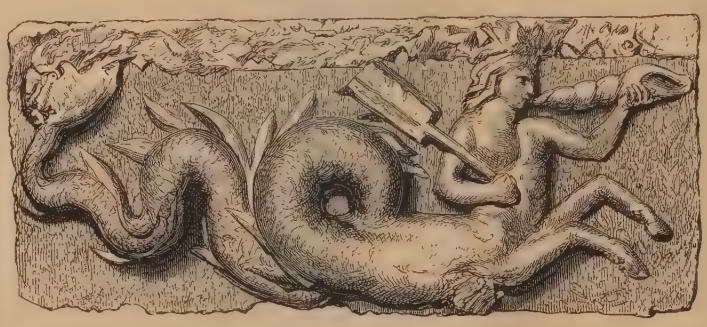
The sculpture found in the Great Theatre was all Roman, and was very inferior to the inscriptions in value and interest.

Under the stage was found the colossal bust of an

Emperor, bearing on the breast-plate a Medusa's head and two griffins.

Some fragments of a frieze from the proscenium, with satyrs and cupids, were found; also a Triton blowing a shell, all coarsely cut, but probably striking when in position, as they were vigorous in execution, and their effect was originally heightened by colour.

Statues of Venus, Minerva, and Mercury were also



Triton Blowing a Shell.

found, the last two headless. The Minerva is remarkable for a particular disposition of the ægis.

The Venus was afterwards presented to the Turks, and when I visited the Museum at Constantinople, I saw it, with other sculptures from Ephesus, in one of the store-rooms there. It is thus described by Mr. Newton, in his report to the Trustees:—'A small statue of Venus in the attitude of the Venus de Medicis, but differing from that statue, and from the Venus of the Capitol, in the head-dress and accessories. This statuette is well preserved, but the proportions are clumsy, and the

execution provincial. It is not probably of an earlier period than the third century A.D.'

I cleared out the Theatre sufficiently to enable me to make a plan of it. As far as I explored the auditorium, some of the steps were found remaining, but the marble from the seats had been removed.

These are some of the most important results of explorations made at the Great Theatre from February 1866 to the end of April 1868.

During these two years the works were often stopped for want of funds, and I took advantage of the leisure thus afforded me, not only to perfect my general plan, but to survey all the public buildings in the city. Survey of Buildings.

Soon after the Theatre had been cleared out, a gentleman with whom I am now acquainted visited the ruins, and took with him the old man who at that time undertook to act as guide. Little or no conversation passed between them till they came to the Theatre, when the visitor, looking towards the auditorium, said, 'So this is the Theatre.' 'No,' the old man replied, 'that is a school for little boys.' 'This,' turning towards the proscenium, 'is the Theatre.' The poor old man had evidently jumbled up the contents of a guide-book, which, referring to the School of Tyrannus, had described it as being near the Theatre.

One day, while measuring at the Great Theatre, with the assistance of my cavass, Edrese, I stepped backwards carelessly, and fell from the top of the wall into some bushes, which fortunately broke my fall. Though breath- Accident.

less for a time, I was but slightly hurt. I had, however, a very narrow escape.

Obstinacy.

Waiting for funds made this time a most trying one, and some of my friends in Smyrna, seeing that my health was giving way, kindly advised me to give up the excavations and return to England; but my 'obstinacy,' as Mr. Newton designated it before the Westminster scholars, prevailed, and I determined to remain and persevere, although the enterprise seemed at that time almost hopeless.

Priêné.

Early in January 1867 I visited Priêné and rescued from destruction two fragments of inscription from the Temple of Athena Polias, which are now in the British Museum, with all that has been since recovered by Mr. Pullan.

Ill health.

In April the state of my health obliged me to leave for England, where I remained till September. On my return to Smyrna, a man called upon me, and coolly offered to sell me the head of the statue of Lucius Verus, which had been stolen from my excavations at the Odeum. He said he had bought it for 8*l.* from the people who stole it, and he would not take less than 20*l.* for it. This head, unfortunately, has never been recovered.

Head of Lucius Verus.

Search for Temple.

As I had obtained leave to spend a portion of my grant from the Trustees in continuing my search for the Temple, I employed about twenty men in sinking trial holes outside the city, eastward. In the course of these explorations we found the wall of the city on the east side of the large mound at the end of the ravine between Mounts Prion and Coressus. Inside one of the towers

City wall.

we came across a great quantity of pottery, consisting chiefly of lamps, some of which were joined together, having been spoilt in the baking. The return of the wall was found on the south side of the mound; and here we reached a gigantic rubbish-heap which ran the whole length of the wall on that side. Although I made several cross cuts into this mound, I was not fortunate enough to find anything of value, the rubbish consisting chiefly of broken pottery of a late period.

Rubbish-heap.

Before the close of the year 1867 I had found in the Great Theatre and elsewhere, 110 inscriptions, mostly Greek, the rest Latin.

110 Inscriptions.

Indifference to the interest of the ruins of ancient buildings was shown in a remarkable manner one day, when three hundred people visited Ephesus, dined in a large marquée near the Great Theatre, and only six or eight were persuaded after dinner to enter the Theatre. I have since been reminded of this circumstance by a lady, who greatly regretted she had neglected the opportunity she then had of seeing the ruins.

I now took up my abode at the house near the railway station at Ayasalouk, which had been built for an hotel, but had not answered. During my absence the Châlet had been broken into by thieves, who stole my furniture, and the house had been wilfully damaged, and rendered uninhabitable by mischievous passers-by.

Change of Residence.

Fate of Châlet.

Before the close of the year I had succeeded in finding the Magnesian gate, near the Opistholeprian Gymnasium, close to the mound around which I found the city wall. This is one of the two gates named in

Magnesian gate found.

the long Salutarian inscription from the Great Theatre. I had resolved to seek out these gates that I might follow the roads leading from them to the Temple. This inscription, indeed, gave me the clue which I had hoped to obtain by exploring some of the public buildings, and

Excavator's House and Aqueduct at Ayasalouk.

confirmed me in the resolution already formed, to search for one or two of the city gates and open up the roads leading from them, choosing the most worn road as the one likely to lead to the Temenos.

The inscription speaks of the procession of images from the Temple to the Theatre, as passing in through the Magnesian gate, and as passing out on its return to

the Temple through the Coressian gate. The intention was evidently to make as complete a circuit as would enable the inhabitants of the city generally to see the images as they passed along. I afterwards found the Coressian gate near the Stadium on the north side of the city; and the position of this gate, with other ascertained facts, caused me to reverse the positions of the two mountains, as shown on the English Admiralty Chart. The Coressian gate must have been the gate at the foot of Mount Coressus, the round mountain hitherto called Prion, while the latter name (Prion, *a saw*) is particularly applicable to the long serrated mountain hitherto called Coressus. As to the name 'Coressus,' a curious legend, which must be comparatively modern, tells us that Artemis, in her earthly wanderings near her birthplace, approached the Coressian gate, and addressing one whom she met, asked what place it was. The answer was 'Kyria esas'—lady, yours.

Coressian gate.

Mounts Prion and Coressus.

Old legend.

As I had accumulated at Ayasalouk, in my magazines, a large number of inscribed blocks of marble, besides sculpture and other antiquities, I applied to the Trustees of the British Museum for the aid of a man-of-war to remove the Salutarian inscription from the wall, and to take it and other antiquities to England. January 25, 1868, H.M.S. 'Terrible' came to Smyrna, with orders from the Admiralty to take on board a number of cases of antiquities from Ephesus, to be transported to England, and to assist in conveying from the ruins of the city to the railway station at Ayasalouk all the inscribed and sculptured marbles which I had selected for the British Museum.

H.M.S. 'Terrible.'

For this purpose Captain Commerell sent me a portion of his crew, consisting of sixteen blue jackets, four marines, and two carpenters, twenty-two men in all, under the charge of Lieutenant Hallett. Most of these men volunteered for the service, in spite of the bad repute of the climate of Ephesus, which is generally designated as 'most pestilential.'

Quarters for the crew.

Where to lodge these men seemed at first difficult; and, after trying several of the Cafféjees, who asked ridiculously exorbitant sums for the use of their wretched huts for twenty days, I at last came to terms with an old lady who occupied the large room of the house at Ayasalouk, in which we afterwards lived till the excavations were discontinued. In this one room the old lady, who had seen what are called better days, had all her earthly goods. She had once positively had a whole house of her own, and a husband; now she had only one room, rent free, in kind consideration of her being poor and a widow. She had the honour of being the mother of the *gentleman* porter and pointsman at Ayasalouk, who showed by the manner in which he carried himself that he was far too proud for the duties he had undertaken.

For three Turkish pounds the old lady turned out and took refuge in the station itself. The blue jackets, having made short work of moving her property from one room to another, scrubbed out the room she had vacated, built a kitchen, and then took a stroll, 'just to see what the place was like.' They soon knew all about it, and before nightfall were as comfortably settled down as if they were at home. As I could not well attend to the

workmen while the man-of-war's men were engaged in their work at Ephesus, I discharged all but a few of them, and partially suspended the excavations. I availed myself of this opportunity to get rid of my ganger, with whom I was not satisfied, and whose evil influence and intrigues made the Bakal so irregular with his supplies that the men were often without bread for the day.

Men of the 'Terrible' at Ephesus.

February 1.—The crew of the 'Terrible' began their work at Ephesus, by removing some inscribed blocks of marble from the Great Theatre to the railway station; but we soon found that we should get on better if we had a few more blue jackets and two more carpenters. Captain Commerell therefore sent me eight more men, two of whom were carpenters. All the four carpenters were now employed in making strong cases for the stones and other antiquities, and, when a cook and his mate had been told off from the whole number, we had just enough men to drag the cart over the stony ground between the ruins and the railway station. The men enjoyed themselves amazingly. On the first day one of them began to chip the sarcophagus of Polycarpos, found near the Magnesian gate. I told him with some warmth that they were there to aid me in preserving whatever might be found that was interesting, and not to follow the bad example of some visitors. My remonstrance had its desired effect, and I had no further reason to complain during the twenty days of their sojourn at Ephesus.

Amongst other tasks, they had to remove the facing stones of the wall of the south entrance to the Great Theatre, which was covered with the Salutarian inscrip-

tion. These inscribed stones were very heavy, being of a great thickness, and were so firmly fixed in their places with strong iron cramps, that it was very difficult to remove them without injury. I feared that if the sailors were allowed to begin the work without a caution, we should have very little of the inscription intact, when the stones were removed. Almost the first block they had to remove was a most delicate one, which required very careful handling, as it had broken off at the upper edge as sharp as a knife. I therefore told them that if they landed that stone on the pavement at my feet without further injury to it, I would give them all round a pound of tobacco. This they succeeded in doing, and the tobacco money, handed over at once to one of the petty officers, had a most satisfactory effect. All the other stones were removed with the greatest care, and with as little damage as possible. The whole of this inscription is now safely lodged in the basement floor of the British Museum, with more than four hundred others from Ephesus.

The sailors were not allowed to go out of doors at night, 'cruising about,' as they would call it. After supper, therefore, they ranged themselves along the sides of a large table in the middle of their room, and having elected a chairman, who was probably one of the two petty officers, they sang songs, which were chiefly of a most sentimental turn, but never without a chorus, in which all hands (voices) joined most lustily. The more sentimental the song, the louder the chorus, as if 'Jack' wanted to conceal the fact that his heart had been touched by the sentiment. One of their songs was so dreadfully pathetic,

and was sung in so effective a manner, that it 'got into our heads,' and as it was repeated every evening, we involuntarily exclaimed, 'There's that horrible song again.' The chairman used his hammer freely, and so kept order. At ten o'clock punctually, all hands 'turned in,' and a few minutes later, silence reigned in the house that sheltered from the bitter cold of that winter so many honest 'Britishers.'

Mr. Hallett was an excellent specimen of a young naval officer who strives to do his duty manfully and conscientiously. The men fell in, were inspected, and marched off to their work with a regularity quite equal to that observed on board ship; and at the same time they took to their work in the open plain with wonderful energy and good humour, in spite of the bitterly cold wind which prevailed the whole time.

A quaint petty officer.

One of the petty officers named Keebles was a man of remarkable and unflagging energy, who, whenever a large rough stone came heavily with a thud to the ground, would exclaim, 'Great was the fall thereof.' This man was strong with the crowbar, and one day, as he was working with it, moving a large stone, his gigantic efforts broke the bar, and Mr. Keebles came to the ground among the loose stones of the wall. His serio-comic face alarmed us at first; but as his features relaxed gradually into a decided smile, one of his messmates applied to him his favourite quotation, '*great was the fall thereof*,' given out in imitation of the voice and manner of Keebles.

One stone of the great Salutarian inscription was extra large, and must have weighed quite four tons. Before it

was removed from the walls I scarcely knew how to arrange about the conveyance of such a stone to the railway station, over about two miles of rough stony ground, as an extra strong cart would be needed for the purpose. But, as we removed it from the wall, it parted in two pieces, the bigger of which did not quite break down our cart, although many a groan escaped it on the way. That cart did good service, for it removed most of the stones from the ruins and the Temple, and was in active service to the very day on which the works were abandoned.

A great number (I believe more than two hundred) fragments of this inscription had fallen upon the pavement, and were recovered only after the removal of the earth, débris, and huge blocks of marble with which the passage was encumbered.

Skill of workmen at the British Museum.

The workmen at the British Museum afterwards showed great aptitude in joining these pieces together, although they are unacquainted with the Greek language. I have often seen them trying sideways, or upside down, pieces for which they have ultimately found their proper places.

Officers of the 'Terrible.'

I shall never forget the valuable help so willingly and so cheerfully given to me by Captain Commerell and Lieutenant Hallett. The former paid more than one visit to the ruins, and personally took charge of and superintended the packing of one or two of the most valuable stones. He also allowed me to have as many of his crew as I required to remove the stones from the ruins to the railway station, to pack them carefully in cases,

made partly by his carpenters at Ayasalouk, and to take them from the station at Smyrna on board ship.

Twenty days, as I have said, were thus employed, During the whole of that time, Mr. Hallett remained patiently enduring the discomfort of our quarters, and with great skill and judgment assisting me in surmounting difficulties which only a visitor to Ephesus can quite appreciate. Suffice it to say that we had to remove many heavy blocks of marble from sundry parts of the ruins to which there were no roads, and where it was almost impossible to draw the cart, even without a load.

Captain Commerell had originally intended giving all his lieutenants a turn with me at Ephesus; but Mr. Hallett proved himself so expert at the work, and so pleasant a companion, that at my request he was allowed to remain. Captain, now Admiral, Commerell was one of the first sufferers in the Ashantee war, being grievously wounded with others in a small boat on the river.

New ganger.

While the crew of the 'Terrible' were employed at Ephesus, I kept very few men at work, but increased the number as soon as they left, hiring a new ganger, a young Catholic of Smyrna, named Vitalis. This man, it turned out, had very little control over the men, and was just as likely to be found prostrated at full length on the ground near the works, as standing over the men doing his duty.

During the time I was digging in the city, I had great difficulty in getting good workmen; and my cavass (I had only one then) recommended a countryman of his, who, he said, would undertake to get me as many as I

needed. Accordingly, I gave this man authority to bring me twenty men; but, after an absence of two days, he brought me only eight, and of these only one was a workman, the rest being café-loungers and idlers, who never seriously work long at anything, a very few piastres sufficing to keep them in bread and tobacco for a month. The tall Albanian who brought me these miserable creatures, wanted to exact a sum per head for them, which would have brought his claim up to five or six dollars. I refused to give him more than one medjid or Turkish dollar. This he indignantly threw down on the table, but I obliged him to take it, and he left me, declaring with a terrible oath that he would have his revenge when I was off my guard. If what he told the station-master at Ayasalouk was true, he lay in wait for me for five successive evenings, as I passed home alone through the cemetery. My purpose in going alone was to show him that I was not afraid of him, and that there was no chance of his obtaining money from me by intimidation. I must confess that at the time I felt some anxiety for my safety, as I was told that this man had killed another for some trivial difference, and he often boasted how well he had escaped punishment for the murder by disguising himself. I saw nothing of him, however, although I had looked out sharply for him as I passed between the bushes in the cemetery, with my finger on the trigger of a revolver carried ready in my coat pocket. On the fifth night the man came into the café where the station-master was seated, and, breaking the stock of his gun as he threw it down, swore one of the fearful oaths in which such men indulge, de-

Threats of violence.

claring he had not been able to catch me off my guard and get a shot at me.

Mr. Cumberbatch, H.B.M.'s Consul at Smyrna, hearing of this, sent one of his cavasses, and had the man arrested and taken down to Smyrna, and he was sentenced to banishment for twelve months to Pergamos; some of his kinsfolk and a fanatic priest being his surety. But now there arose a greater danger than before, for he had a bloodthirsty cousin living near me, who was employed as a cavass on the railway, and who, a few months before, had shot a man dead in the presence of my informant for a quarrel about five piastres! This new antagonist, as I feared he might prove, came to see me, and asked me why I had had his cousin arrested, and seemed to go away satisfied when I told him he had threatened my life. Whether he was satisfied or not, he never attempted to molest me in any way, nor did I ever see him again, excepting on the occasion of riding with him and others one day on a trolly for a short distance.

The labourers, employed from first to last on the excavations, have been of many nationalities, but were chiefly Turks, with a few Greeks. While I was exploring the Great Theatre with a force of seventy workmen, towards the close of the season 1867–8, a circumstance occurred, which more or less gratified my love of romance and adventure. One day, while my men were all at work in front of the Great Theatre, I went into the building alone to take some dimensions of the proscenium. I at once smelt a very unpleasant odour, which I attributed to the decomposition of some dead beast. I made no

remark at the time to anyone, although this smell compelled me to leave my work undone. In the evening my ganger (Vitalis) came to my room, and with a solemn and mysterious manner asked me if I had not smelt a 'dreadful smell' in the Theatre, and whether I had seen anything. On my replying that I had smelt something, but seen nothing, he said, 'It's a dead man, Sir!' He then went on to relate all that had come to his knowledge. His statements seemed to show that the body of a man had been buried at the Theatre under very suspicious circumstances. One of our Turkish labourers, named Osman, the only man of the whole seventy, then in my employment, who was regular at his devotions, had that morning told my ganger that on the previous Tuesday (four days before) he had assisted some of his fellow-workmen to bury the body of a man at the Theatre, and that they had threatened to kill the Greeks, if they told me or any of the authorities.

Suspected murder!

The ganger had feared to tell me of this when he first heard of it, feeling sure, he said, that I might incur danger by investigating the matter; but he had afterwards determined to tell me, as he thought 'murders should not be hushed up, after the fashion of the country.' I of course quite agreed with him, and ordered him to be in readiness in the morning with a gang of half-a-dozen men for the purpose of exhuming the body for examination, the circumstances of his secret burial and the threats of the Turks against the Greeks being most suspicious. My suspicions were further increased by remembering that when I came down to the workmen that day from the

interior of the theatre, one of them had tried to persuade me to give up digging there, saying there were other buildings much more promising, whereas here I had taken all that could be found.

The following morning (Sunday) was ushered in by such a storm of wind and rain as made it impossible for us to go to the Theatre. This gave me time to reflect, and I determined to avail myself of the advice and assistance, as well as of the authority, of the Mudir. I therefore rode up to Kirkenjee, the village where he lived, accompanied by a zaptieh (a native policeman) and one of my cavasses. The appearance of this village strikes the person who approaches it for the first time as being very peculiar, the houses presenting a very formidable front from the radiating dabs of whitewash splashed around the windows, for the purpose, they say, of keeping off the '*evil eye*'—a common superstition in Asia Minor. The windows here were made to look like so many evil eyes, as I thought, glaring at you, and defying you to enter the village. This fashion gives a beggarly appearance to the houses, which are built of small stones, and covered with flat mud roofs. Kirkenjee, however, is not so poor a place as it seems to be. The inhabitants are industrious, and cultivate the ground in the plain of Ephesus and for miles around. On feast days the women turn out clad in comfortable and smart dresses of light colours, and make a great display of gold coins, which they string and wear as armlets and necklaces. As we entered the village, a wedding party thronged out of the church gate, the bridegroom smothered by the congra-

A Greek marriage.

tulatory embraces of his male friends ; the bride, blushingly happy, walking modestly behind, supported by two elderly matrons, probably the mothers of the newly married pair. The inhabitants of this village are said to be descended from the ancient inhabitants of Ephesus, who moved in a body to the more healthy abodes high up in the mountain, about two hundred years ago. The oldest inhabitant recently died, at the age, it is said, of 153 years! The

Longevity!

Mudir came from his house, and met me at the Konak. He at once promised to give me all the help in his power, and rode down with me to Ayasalouk, accompanied by four zaptiehs armed with their guns, pistols, and yataghans. Although we were only six to seventy, we did not anticipate any resistance. At the same time we formed our plans for securing our prisoners, for the Mudir agreed with me that it would be necessary to arrest all the most suspicious of the workmen. As we approached the village of Ayasalouk, the zaptiehs separated, and hurried on in different directions, leaving the Mudir and myself to ride along the ordinary road unattended. Night was fast coming on, and the short twilight favoured our plan. We entered the village without alarming those of my workmen whom we found in the cafés drinking or smoking. Having arrested and secured all whom we suspected here, we obtained six or seven lengths of rope, and a lantern, and proceeded on our way to take the remainder at their sleeping places among the ruins. It was quite dark when we reached the first of them, and thus, as our numbers could not be ascertained, the men made no attempt at resistance, and we arrested them as we

Arrest of workmen.

found them, gang after gang, in the vaults and caverns, and tied them together, in groups of six or seven, to the number of thirty-six including the prisoners taken in the village. By the time all this was done, we had reached the front of the Great Theatre. The police then lighted the torches they had brought with them, and some of my workmen proceeded to exhume the body of the murdered man. This was no easy task, for the body had been deposited five or six feet below the surface, and large stones had been heaped upon it. Two good hours were spent in getting at it, and when it was taken out, its advanced state of decomposition left the exact manner of his death as much a mystery as before. The body was therefore replaced, and we started for Ayasalouk with our prisoners. As I was the only person thoroughly acquainted with all the holes and pitfalls I had dug on our road, I was obliged to lead the way, while the others followed me as closely as possible. Our march was performed in perfect silence.

Murdered man exhumed.

The following morning I visited the prisoners, one half of whom were crowded into the small room occupied by the police, while the others stood about the porch, closely watched. The Mudir's secretary was engaged in taking down their names on a long strip of paper, before their departure as prisoners for Scala Nova. They were then again strongly tied together in five or six gangs, and so marched off with an armed escort, headed by the Mudir, who promised to bring them all back to their work the next day, after their examination by the Kaimachan (Governor). In the meantime I endeavoured

Prisoners.

to supply their places by other men, as the elders of the village told me I must not expect my men to be returned to me for a long time. On the fourth day the Mudir returned with a message from the Kaimachan to the effect that he would like to see me. I therefore started off with the Mudir and a zaptieh. On the way to Scala Nova the Mudir had an opportunity of showing the excellence of his temper, for on attempting to pass by the lower bridle path at the foot of the rocky steep on which 'St. Paul's Prison' stands, the ground proved so swampy that his horse nearly disappeared beneath him, and he had to disengage himself as quickly as possible to get out of the slough. Horse, rider, saddle-bags, and all were covered with thick mud, but 'Zara yok' (no matter) were the only words that escaped the patient Mudir. On reaching the first road-side café, which had the usual fountain and a plentiful supply of spring water, he spent more than half an hour in washing the mud off his clothes, his horse, and trappings.

Patience of the Mudir.

On approaching Scala Nova we fell in with a dozen armed zaptiehs, who had been out all night in search of robbers, the country being at that time infested by many bands of Greeks from Crete, who, having deserted the cause they had engaged to fight for, came, formidably armed with breechloaders, to the coast of Asia Minor. Here the mountains afforded them a safe retreat from the pursuit of the police, while they could swoop down from their hiding places upon any unfortunate travellers who might happen to pass within reach of them.

State of the country.

On arriving at the Konak we were shown up into an

antechamber, where we were served with coffee. Some of the officials here took great interest in examining my revolver, as if it was the first they had ever seen. In due time we were shown into the Council Chamber, where we found the Kaimachan, the Mollah, and some of the Medjilis seated, with their legs crossed under them, on low, wide divans against the walls. Reception at Konak.

My reception was the usual flattering one given to Europeans by Turkish gentlemen. A Turk is well pleased if he can speak any European language, however imperfectly; in this case, the Kaimachan knew a few words of German, and at the same time that he indicated which seat I should take, he said 'Sitzen sie.' From compliments we soon passed to the unpleasant business which had brought us together. The thirty-six prisoners having been ranged along the wall at the lower end of the room, I called over all their names, at the request of the Kaimachan, and recognised them man by man.

The first man so called was motioned out by the Kaimachan. Seeing his plan, I gave them the same sign one by one, till they had all left the room. 'And now,' said the Kaimachan, 'do you suspect any one of these men of having committed the murder?' As I had suspected one man more than the rest only because my ganger had expressed his dislike of him, and because this man had done his best to avoid arrest by secreting himself, I felt that I had no real evidence against him. Not choosing to give utterance to my suspicions, I asked the Kaimachan whether he had obtained evidence against any of the men. As he said he had not, I requested him to let me take

them all with me back to the Excavations: and to this he consented, evidently glad to be rid of them. Having taken my leave of the Kaimachan and the other officials, I descended into the court-yard, where my men were standing in groups, waiting to hear what had been decided respecting them. There was not a little exultation among the poor fellows when I told them they were free. I saw the place where they had been kept in durance vile. It was a dirty stable without light or air, without beds, and even without straw; and only a few of the men had taken a small bundle of rags to pillow their heads upon. Wretched as their lodging was I had to pay for it. We all returned together along the sea-shore to Ephesus, the men showing their delight by racing with my horse, or chasing one another into the sea, and gamboling like children as they ran along. I so far humoured them in their sport as to allow some of the most active of them to get to the Great Theatre before me, and as I passed on they gave a hearty cheer.

Liberation of the prisoners.

Return to Ephesus.

The murder, I need scarcely say, was never found out. The victim was probably some poor unknown wayfarer; and all that we could ascertain about him was that he was not a Turk, his hair being very long and thick. I was told in Smyrna that I might expect to be the next victim, if I took any steps to track murderers and bring them to justice. Cowardly murders are often committed in the streets of Smyrna, and the murderer is almost always allowed to escape until, after the lapse of a few months, he returns to his usual work as if nothing had happened, and no one attempts to interfere with him.

Murder made easy.

CHAPTER V.

Stadium—Grand Entrance—Tyrants' Palace—Serapion—Double Church—Another Church—Roman Temple—Destructive Turk—Prytaneum—Porticos—Mosaic Pavements—Opistholeprian Gymnasium—The Pnyx—Castle at Ayasalouk—Hippodrome—Roman Aqueduct—Modern Greeks—Hard Times—Curious Letters—Complaints of the Landowners.

BEFORE leaving the city and working our way to the Temple, I must refer briefly to some of the remains of the public buildings in the city, not hitherto described in this book.

The Stadium.

Beginning at the Coressian Gate, we have near to it, on the south side, the Stadium, built probably in the time of Augustus. The total length of this building, including the Theatre at the east end, is 850 feet; the exact width cannot be exactly stated, the south side being entirely destroyed, but it exceeded 200 feet. In the Theatre, which formed part of the building, the gladiatorial games were probably exhibited. The seats of the Stadium were raised upon arched sub-structures on the north side, and on the solid rock on the south side, where they appear to have been more numerous. As many seats as existed on the north side, were continued around the circular end eastward. Every fragment of these seats has been carried away; but in the Theatre many of them remain

in position. The western end of the Stadium was adorned by an open columniated screen in two tiers. The bases of the lower columns still remain in position.

Grand Entrance.

On the north side of the Stadium there was a double colonnade, which ran parallel with it for its whole length, and formed probably not only a grand entrance to the city, but also a promenade for the spectators in the Stadium, from the terrace of which steps probably descended every 50 feet, the vomitoria (doors of exit) of the Stadium being that distance apart. The shafts of the columns of the colonnade were of grey granite; the remainder of white marble. This structure belongs probably to the same date as the Stadium.

Tyrant's Palace.

To the north of the colonnade there are considerable remains of a grand public building about 250 feet square, which Mr. Falkener has styled the Gymnasium of the Stadium. I excavated against the front wall; but as I did not succeed in finding any inscriptions, I will not venture to say positively what building it was. It may have been the Tyrant's Palace, but I think it could not have been a gymnasium. On the north side of this building, which is here raised on very lofty arched sub-structures, the sea, as many have supposed, approached the city. I have, however, shown that if at any time there was water here, it must have been brought by a canal, like the one constructed between the river Cayster and the City Port. The lofty sub-structures are supposed by some to have been granaries; but they reminded me forcibly of the Chambers for soldiery at Hadrian's Villa near Tivoli, in imitation of Cæsar's Palace in Rome.

Opposite the Stadium, westward, is a truncated rocky mound, on which Mr. Falkener with good reason places the Serapion. The levelled portion of the rock, which is of marble, gives an area of 250 square feet, in the centre of which is the circular rock-cut foundation of a large altar with four broad flights of steps and three piers for columns between each flight. The quadrangle appears

The Serapion.

Serapion Altar

to have been surrounded on all sides by small cells or chambers, and the whole arrangement resembles that of the Serapion at Pozzuoli, near Naples.

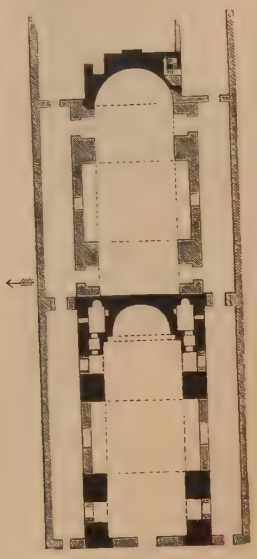
The Double Church, on the north side of the Forum, next claims our attention. It was probably one of the earliest Christian churches in Ephesus, and may have been built soon after the destruction of the Temple. The

Double Church.

eastern church is built entirely of stone; the western church is chiefly of brick. Both are terminated at the east end by an apse.

Another church.

The ruins of another church are to be seen at some distance up the northern slope of Mount Prion, not far from the ruins of a beautiful Roman temple, which is a



Double Church

conspicuous object above the Agora. This Roman temple was of fine white marble, the fluted monolithic columns were thirty-nine feet long, and the entablature was richly sculptured. This beautiful ruin was an object of the greatest interest to visitors, and was allowed to remain undisturbed, until a Turk obtained permission from the authorities some years ago to take marble from the

Roman temple.

ruins of Ephesus, and he carried off a great portion of the remains of this building. Before attempting to remove some of the columns, he chopped off the flutings, and by similar means lightened many of the large blocks he wanted for the unsightly mosque which he was building in Smyrna. He thus disfigured this beautiful ruin and left it covered with marble chippings from the blocks he carried away, and the ruin is no longer interesting. This man carried on his work of destruction in the large mosque

Destructive Turk.

The Ruins of the Prytaneum.

at Ayasalouk, removing the extremely beautiful Kibleh and some highly ornamental marble slabs from the pulpit and other parts of the building. After all his trouble and expense, he was not allowed to use the stones which he had taken from the mosque, and which remain to this day at the railway station and in some of the narrow streets of Smyrna near his mosque. I was told that the mosque was built at the expense of a rich Turk, who undertook it as an act of devotion.

The Prytaneum.

On the east side of the Forum and near the great Theatre there are the remains of a very fine stone building which I believe was either the Prytaneum or the Curia. It is about 250 feet square, which is, singularly enough, the size of many of the public buildings in the city. The solid piers of masonry, of which many remain, are particularly well built of large blocks of marble. It was probably erected about the same time as the great Gymnasium, which I assign to the first century of the Christian era.

Porticos.

All around the Forum there appears to have been a colonnade, some of the slender granite shafts of which remain standing to this day. There was also an upper portico on the east side of the Agora, used probably as a promenade by the better classes of the Ephesians on the days of assembly in the Theatre, of which it is apparently an adjunct. This portico was paved with tesseræ, and each compartment between the piers was of a different pattern, resembling both in design and workmanship the style of the houses at Pompeii. Visitors to Ephesus have wantonly destroyed both this and another mosaic pavement found near the surface close to the Magnesian Gate. I have, in another part of this book, alluded to the manner in which visitors to the ruins of Ephesus destroyed any antiquities left on the surface. In the case of these Mosaic pavements the disposition to destroy for mere destruction's sake is more evident, the tesseræ having been picked up and left loose on the spot.

Mosaic pavements.

Opistholeprian Gymnasium.

The Opistholeprian Gymnasium or Thermæ near the Magnesian Gate is similar in plan to the Gymnasia at Alexandria Troas, and at Tralles. It is a building of the

Fig. 1.

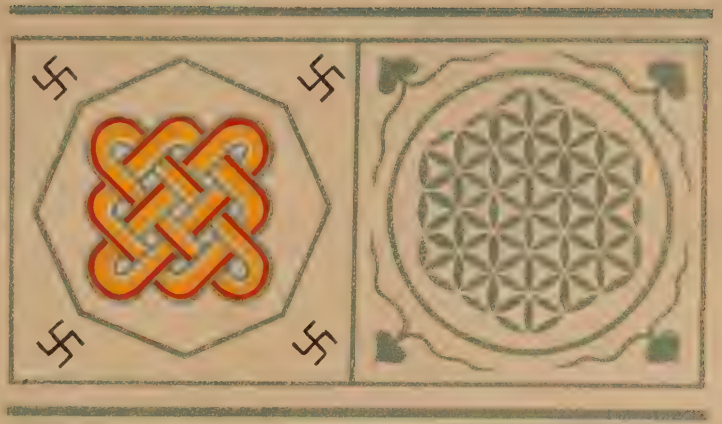


Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

Fig. 5

Fig. 6.

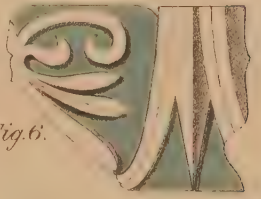


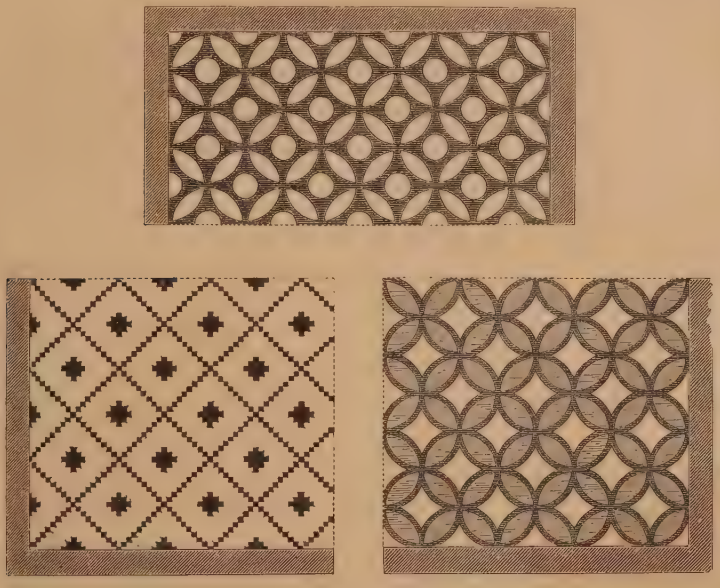
Fig. 7

Fig. 8.

Figs 1 2 3 MOSAIC PAVEMENTS, ROMAN BUILDINGS NR TEMPLE | Figs 4 5 6 7 8 COLORED ENRICHMENTS FROM TEMPLE

M & N HANHART LITH

first century, about 250 feet square, and is surrounded by an ample diaulos, decorated on the south side by a screen with marble figures of Persians nearly 11 feet high. One of these was found prostrate near its original position; the head, hands, and feet are missing, and these were probably of coloured marble. The remains of many other porticos



Mosaic Pavement near Great Theatre.

and colonnades at Ephesus appear still above ground; but without extensive excavations, their position, direction, and extent cannot be ascertained.

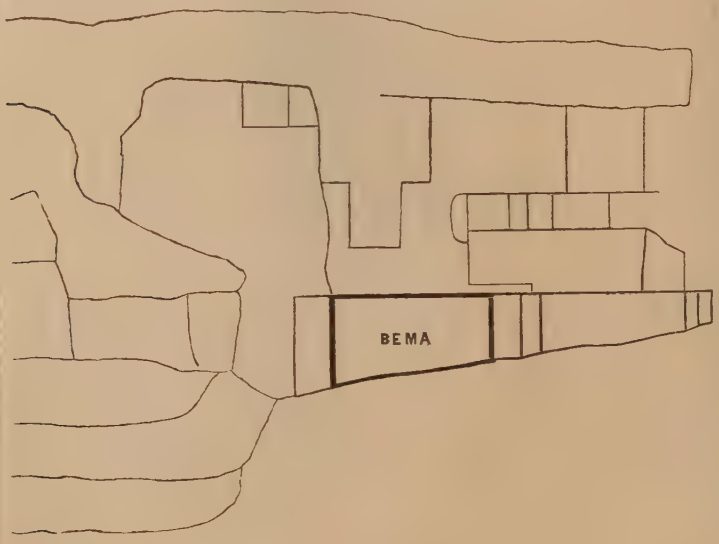
St. Paul's Prison.

The ancient Greek Fort on the hill near the canal leading to the City Port, and commonly called St. Paul's Prison, consists of two stories, each containing four rooms

opening into one another: the upper story was approached by wide external stone steps, similar to those leading up to the walls of the city on Mount Prion.

The Pnyx.

In the swampy ground north of the city, and about eighty yards distant from the wall, I found what I think must have been the Pnyx of Ephesus. Here was a large



Plan of Pnyx.

isolated white marble rock about 150 feet by 80 feet, and standing about eight feet above the present surface of the ground. There is a bema or platform and steps ascending to it, facing the city wall; I was strongly reminded by it of the Pnyx at Athens.

The hill at Ayasalouk is surmounted by a large castle which was to a great extent rebuilt by the Turks on the southern side. There are considerable remains also of a

large public building of the same character as the building in the city near the Stadium. Castle at Ayasalouk.

A very large area remains unexplored between the double church on the north side of the Forum and the city wall. Here might have stood the Hippodrome of Ephesus, if such a building ever existed. The Hippodrome.

It is my opinion that the majority of the public buildings referred to in this chapter may be attributed to the time of Augustus and Tiberius.

The Roman aqueduct which conveyed water to the city of Ephesus from the mountain on the road to Magnesia ad Mæandrum, traversed the ravine of the pass from east to west, and was there built upon arches in the time of Tiberius, as shown by an inscription upon the structure. A view of this is given in 'Falkener's Ephesus;' it forms a pretty architectural feature in the Ephesus pass and it was near this that the Châlet I lived in was situated. My change of residence from the Châlet in this lonely place to the house at Ayasalouk was the commencement of a new phase in my life in those parts, and being close to the railway station, I witnessed many a scene amongst the natives which was more or less amusing and interesting. Large parties of Greeks, consisting sometimes of several families, came to Ayasalouk on their way between Smyrna and Scala Nova. Sometimes they were simply passing through to some festival at Scio or elsewhere, sometimes they were migrating from one place to another, and had all their furniture and personal belongings with them; the men and women mounted on sorry beasts that could scarcely be called horses, the Roman Aqueduct. Modern Greeks.

women sitting astride on a pillow and holding the children in front of them. They generally allowed ample time for a hearty meal from the baskets which they carried with them, and having placed the provisions on the ground they grouped themselves around them in large parties and *dipped* their bread in the same *dish* of sour milk or olive oil. There is in the modern Greek a peculiar sort of kindheartedness which I should regret leaving unmentioned: they have great sympathy for one another in cases of illness or any kind of affliction, and three generations can live together contentedly under the same roof and with one common *ménage* for all. Respect for elders, which is quickly disappearing from amongst us in England is still customary with the Greeks and Turks. I have seen a child on being introduced to an elderly Turkish gentleman, approach him with reverence, take his hand, kiss it, raise it to her forehead, and then gently release it. I leave the reader to contrast this with the happy (?) results of our boasted civilization.

Hard times.

When I first resided at Ayasalouk, which was early in the year 1868, my *ménage* was of the most unpretending description; and although I had provided myself with a cook, I was often without meat, when the fasts, which he religiously observed, made him indifferent to the contents of our larder. Sometimes my neighbour the station-master had more meat than he wanted, and was glad to find a customer for the surplus. The station-master's wife, who was a kind-hearted woman, knowing the carelessness of my cook, often asked the man what his master had for dinner. One evening, when she made

this interesting inquiry, the man appears to have been in a bad humour, and replied rudely, the result of which was the following letter from her :—

'*Memorandum to Wood Esq.*

'8/1, 1868.

Curious letters.

'Dr. Sir,—Hearing from Mr. C—— that you have asked him about a piece of pork or beef, if we could spare, I therefore though (Sir) of asking your Cook if you had anything for supper, and if not I could spare very little of what we had for ourselves, but by the bad manner your man replied to my question, it astonished me, saying in a great voice (that could be heard to a great distance) *do I know what Mr. Wood does, do not bother me.*

'I sure you Sir that if I have been a man to the way the impudent beger replied I would serve him well, please give him to understan that he has not to deal with his own sort.

'You are welcome to a piece of roased pork if you desire. 'Yours truly,

'Mrs. C——.

'To Mr. Wood, Excavator of Ephesus.'

Mr. and Mrs. C. were natives of Corfu, and had therefore acquired some little knowledge of English.

It appears that at one time one of my people had without my leave set up a bakal's shop to supply the workmen, and this was made known to me by a letter from the bakal, which shall speak for itself:—

'Ayassalook: 7/2/71.

'Wood, Esq.

'Dear Sir,—If you'll have to ask me for why I did not gave breads to your men I'll beg to inform you that in concequence that your man —— many times made me loss money from many workmen of yours whenever they were to leave your service he should I think have my Self adviced for to ask my money but he always is doing the contrary expresly for to make me loss money. Please take note also that he has doned a ware-house and supplis all the provisions except the bread and I have told him in present of the Station Master here that I would prefer to give him as many Sacks of flour he want for to give them all bread, because I am sorry to say that I cannot have for forty breads three Servanz and horse more. I leave it to your Kind Self to have it arrangt as am poor and I like to have friends and not enemies.'

Another letter from the Greek Bakal.

'Dear Sir,—In Same time I beg to inform you that as to-day in your presenz (name omitted) *insulted* me by calling me *lyer* I cannot axcept it, as I work just now fourteen years on the Ottoman Railway Company and never heard such words (in reproach).

'Please in future get some body other to supply your men with breads and oblige and if the other one has not flour, for these few days I can promise to him presently five sacks—

'Yours servant,

'Elias Danos.'

One of the Ephesian landowners lived at Scala Nova, and was on friendly terms with the Kaimachan of that place. He therefore prevailed upon him to send a complaint to the Pasha of Smyrna, with the view of putting a stop to my excavations in the open plain. The Pasha forwarded the document to our Consul, who immediately favoured me with a copy of it to guide me in my proceedings. The following is a translation of this document, dated July 28, 1870:—

Complaints of the landowners.

'The Council of the country in question alleging by a Magbata that Mr. Wood, an English subject searching for antiquities in the district of Ayasalouk, has laid waste the lands of many cultivators, they have demanded the execution of what is necessary.

'Some days since Ahmed Bey, member of the Council for the proceedings, and Costandi Effendi, member of the Council of the administration, have been sent on business to the aforesaid country, have seen with their own eyes the land dug by Mr. Wood. Taking into consideration their report chiefly on the land situated in the neighbourhood of the said country, between three, five, and eight steps, and from three to ten pikes deep, are dug wells, and to close the wells dug in each piece of land, from one to two thousand piastres must be spent, and without filling up the aforementioned wells it is impossible to cultivate the aforementioned land.

'As the cultivation of the land has remained all behind to sow sesame and maize, they can no longer sow it. Whenever the agriculturist asks the aforesaid Mr. Wood to fill up the aforesaid wells, he allows the time to pass

under various pretences, and every day he makes forty or sixty workmen work on the land of this one or that one, and the marbles and antiquities which he finds he takes away, and immediately shuts them up in boxes without letting anyone see them, and sends them to Smyrna by railway.

'This being verified, has been told to us as being a great drawback to the agriculturists.

'Will you take into consideration that this does great harm to the interests of the agriculturists; and that you may see it more clearly, we submit to you also the Magbata of the aforesaid Council. The execution of what is necessary depends on the opinion of your adviser. It is for this we take the liberty of presenting to you the present Magbata—on this subject, as on all occasions, it belongs to him who has the right to command.'

I may here add that I was not compelled to discontinue my explorations, nor to fill up the holes I had dug when this communication was made to the Pasha of Smyrna; but I afterwards filled up of my own accord most of the holes to which the complaint referred.

CHAPTER VI.

The Magnesian Gate—The River Marnas—Road to Temple—Road to Magnesia—Interesting Tombs—Ancient Wood Carving—Coressian Gate—Plan of Exploration—Discovery of the Portico of Damianus—Hindrances, Difficulties, and Dangers—Journeying from England—Continuance of Works—Sarcophagi—Contents of Sarcophagi—Columbaria—Sepulchral Recesses—Quarries—Via Sacra—Miscellaneous Antiquities—Inscriptions—Sepulchre of Androclus—A Sharp-witted Ganger—Hopes and Fears—Discovery of Road leading to Temple—Difficulties—Works Stopped by the Turks—The Prince and Princess of Wales—The Mudir—Works Resumed—Supplementary Grant—Peribolos Wall of Temenos Discovered—Interesting Inscriptions—Success—More Inscriptions—Interesting Historical Facts Confirmed—Contract Work—Letter of Congratulation—False Alarm—Brigands—Narrow Escapes—Intriguing Mudir—Amusing Memorial—Telegrams—Curious Letter—Works Suspended.

The Magnesian Gate.

HAVING found the Magnesian and Coressian Gates, mentioned in the great Salutarian inscription, I set as many men to work as I could spare from the great Theatre, to open up the roads leading from these gates outside the City. In doing this I had to clear a large space near the Magnesian Gate, which I found had consisted of three openings, one of which was for the use of foot passengers, the other two for chariots and waggons. This gate was fortified by large loop-holed towers which flanked it on both sides. The whole of the superstructure of the gate had fallen on the pavement, leaving the piers standing only 7 or 8 feet high. The pavement re-

mained intact, with deeply cut chariot-ruts as at Pompeii. On the two central piers crosses had been cut, like those at the Theatre and other public buildings in the City; showing that the Christians in those days could exhibit the emblem of their new faith without fear of persecution, as they could not have done in the time of Trajan and Pliny. On the front of one of the central piers was sculptured a small bas-relief of Nemesis, the Goddess of Retribution, with the long wings and wheels symbolical of the swiftness of her vengeance. This work has unfortunately been destroyed by visitors to the ruins. I was afterwards assured that these barbarians were some of the passengers of an English boat, but I did not believe it.

I examined all the blocks of stone which had formed the superstructure of the gate, in search of an inscription which would give certain information as to its name; but I found only a line or two with the name of the Emperor Vespasian, in whose time the gate had probably been re-erected. I also found near the gate a large block which probably formed part of the superstructure; on this was carved the subject of our wood-cut, which I have supposed may represent Peace and War.

The river Marnas.

Near the gate and outside of it, was found the inscribed pedestal which had probably supported a figure of the River Marnas, and which informs us that the water of that river was here brought into the City. Before the discovery of this inscription we had only known of the existence of this river in the Plain of Ephesus by some ancient copper coins of the time of Domitian, and its whereabouts in the plain was unknown. We can now

fix its position with tolerable accuracy. It was probably the river which took its rise in the Ephesus Pass, and fell into the river Selinus, somewhere between the Magnesian Gate and Ayasalouk. The figure on the coin is helmeted.

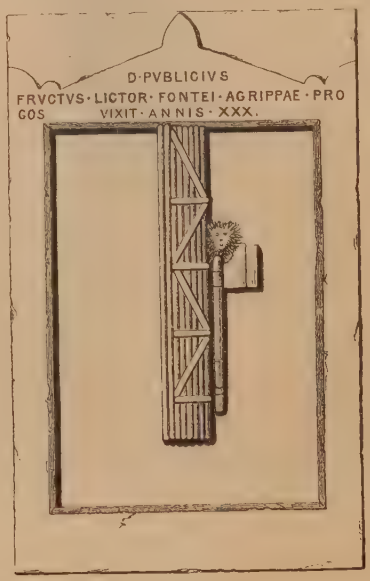
Immediately outside the gate, on the south side, there were the remains of an extremely handsome sarcophagus ornamented with festoons of fruit and flowers, supported by boys, and inscribed with the name Polycarpos accompanied

Peace and War.

by a cross. I also found near the gate two sun-dials, one entirely of marble, the other of stone with an iron gnomon. I had to clear a wide space, for the distance of 140 feet outside the gate, before I reached the point where the road bifurcated, one branch of it leading around Mount Coressus towards Ayasalouk, the other towards the Ephesus Pass, and onward to Magnesia ad Mæandrum. It was this latter road that gave the name to the gate.

Road to Temple.

I soon determined which of these two roads was more likely to lead to the Temple. The road leading to Ayasa-louk, thirty-five feet in width, and paved with immense blocks of marble and limestone, was very deeply worn into four distinct ruts, showing the constant passing and repassing of chariots and other vehicles. The road leading to



Tomb of a Lictor.

Road to Magnesia.

Magnesia, on the other hand, showed little or no wear, the marks of wheels being scarcely discernible. Along the sides of this road, however, I found some very interesting tombs and monuments, and I therefore opened it up for the distance of nine hundred yards, beyond which there seemed to be no tombs or sarcophagi.

Interesting tombs.

One of the most curious tombs discovered here was that of D. Publicius Fructus, who was a Lictor of the Proconsul Fonteius Agrippa. In a large sunk panel are carved the fasces, and an axe surmounted by the head of φόβος (Terror). This man had died at the early age of thirty years. An inscription on a sarcophagus[1] records the death of Valerius, a soldier who served in the Roman army for eight years, and died at the age of twenty-six years and six months. Another tomb was that of M. Calpurnius Rufus, Prætorian legate of Cyprus, Pontus, Bithynia, and the province of Asia.[2]

Near this were found the tombs of Metrodorus the Ephebarch,[3] and of Marcus Helvius Geminus, Imperial Proprætor of Asia.[4]

Many other tombs have interesting inscriptions, some of which relate to personages who held high official posts under the Roman Empire. In a sarcophagus by the side of the road leading to Magnesia ad Mæandrum, I found a well-executed profile, probably of the occupant, carved in wood, in a fair state of preservation, but which would not bear careless handling. In another sarcophagus we found a perfect skeleton, with the arms bent at the elbows and crossed on the chest. By the side of the road we also found a dedication by Earinus, who held the office of Tabularius of the province of Asia.[5]

Ancient wood-carving.

The road to Magnesia winds amongst the substructures of monuments, some of which are of large

[1] See Appendix, Inscription on Tombs, Sarcophagi, &c.
[2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.*
[5] Appendix, Sundries.

proportions and very massive, and are evidently raised over the remains of persons of distinction. These are to be traced for more than two miles beyond the gates.

In opening the road towards Ayasalouk, I found at first only a few large marble sarcophagi, inscribed with the names of the occupants; and none of these were of special interest. The discovery of them was occasionally announced by the English ganger, who informed me in quite an excited manner, 'They've found another *sarcopalus*, Sir!'

The Coressian Gate.

The Coressian Gate appeared to have been used only by foot passengers, as I could discover no signs of wheel traffic in the road leading from it. I found tombs on both sides of this road, and a number of handsome sarcophagi, large and small, in position. At the distance of 500 yards outside the Gate, the road bifurcated, the branch to the left leading to a point some distance north of the hill at Ayasalouk, where it probably joined the road to Smyrna. The other led direct to the sacred precinct of the Temple, as I afterwards ascertained. The road which led around Mount Coressus from the Magnesian Gate, crossed at this point, and passed on northward.

Built into one of the piers of the Coressian Gate, was found part of a frieze from some more ancient public building, inscribed with an epitaph in eight elegiac verses.[1]

Looking now from the Magnesian Gate in the direction of the road which I had selected as the most

[1] Appendix, Sundries from Ephesus, Inscription No. 1.

likely to lead to the Temple, I could see no ground within six hundred feet which could possibly be the site; yet this appeared to be the length of the Stoa or Portico of Damianus described by Philostratus as uniting the Temple with the city. There was, however, one promising feature, which I did not overlook; this was a decided *κάθοδος* or descending road, similar to that described by Philostratus, where the portico was said to begin, that is at the Magnesian Gate.

Plan of exploration.

I determined ultimately to set aside for a time the question as to the exact length of the portico, and to bestow all my means and energy in opening up as great a length of the road as I possibly could, with the balance I had then in hand, before the hot season should set in. The discovery of the Magnesian Gate was a great stride towards that of the Temple itself; and I was satisfied in my own mind that I was making fair progress. Of this, however, I had to convince the Trustees, that I might obtain the necessary funds to continue the excavations. I therefore opened up the outer side of the road around the mountain, in search of a road which led away from it towards the open plain, where I thought the Temple must inevitably be found.

Discovery of the Portico of Damianus.

I succeeded in exploring five hundred yards of the road in this manner by the time my funds were exhausted. At this distance from the gate I found the stone piers of a portico which must have been that of Damianus. I now concluded that this portico was of great length, and that the six hundred feet of it mentioned by Philostratus as having been built of stone,

was of a more ornate character than the remainder. The clouds had begun to disperse, and the difficulties to lessen.

Early in May I suspended the excavations, and returned to England, to rejoin my family, from whom I had been separated since September, and to make arrangements, if possible, for the prosecution of the explorations during another season, which I had determined should in future exclude the summer months.

Hindrances, difficulties, and dangers.

One of the difficulties in conducting excavations at Ephesus, and one of my greatest enemies, was the fever which prevails there, and which is generated by the extensive marshes near the river Cayster on the north side of the city. I was not sufficiently careful, and for years took no precautions, such as generous living and occasional relaxation would have afforded me against the common foe. I was therefore a constant sufferer, and my courage and powers of endurance were put to severe tests, and threatened from time to time to break down. Other hindrances, difficulties, and dangers were caused partly by the vexatious stoppage of the works by the different Pashas of Smyrna, who succeeded one another so rapidly that as soon as I had propitiated one of them I found myself obliged to conciliate another; and in part by the insufficiency or inefficiency of workmen. Large parties of my best workmen were sometimes taken without notice by the railway companies and others. Then, too, my life was repeatedly threatened and even attempted; and there was always the danger of injury

from falling earth and stones, from which I had many narrow escapes.

But above all these there was the fear of failure for want of funds to continue the excavations. This caused me constant anxiety at that time. In my less sanguine or hopeful moods, I would sometimes wish for a great earthquake to open up a chasm, and reveal the secret; but if this had happened, I should have lost the credit of finding the Temple. During my stay in England, the Trustees of the British Museum determined to proceed with the works, and Mrs. Wood accompanied me on my return to Smyrna towards the end of October. We were detained at Vogogna for five days by the floods with twenty others who came over the Simplon Pass at the same time. As the roads and bridges were washed away, and could not be put in order for some months, we continued our journey by a circuitous route which brought us to Baveno on the Lago Maggiore. The water had risen in the lake to the first-floor windows of the houses, and by the time we reached Milan we had seen enough water to satisfy the keenest hydropathist living. To get to the salle-à-manger of the hotel at Baveno, a narrow plank was placed from one window to another across the street, which was then like one of the Venetian canals. No lady could therefore cross to the room where dinner was served, and we went on our way fasting.

Journeying from England.

On our arrival at Ephesus I set to work immediately with the few men I could get together on the spot, beginning from the point where I had suspended work in

Continuance of works.

May, and continuing to open up the road leading around Mount Coressus towards Ayasalouk. Tombs of every description, but chiefly sarcophagi of white marble, of the third, fourth, and fifth century of our era, were found on both sides of the road.

Sarcophagi.

I also found in position the majority of the stone piers of the Portico of Damianus in a continuous line on the inner side of the road, that is, nearest the mountain. This portico was twelve feet wide between the piers. As I found no remains of the superstructure, I presume that it was of wood: the portion described by Philostratus as being of stone for the length of a stadium (600 feet) was probably that part nearest the Temple, which remains undiscovered. Between the piers of the portico nearest the road we found sarcophagi of the largest size, all of which bore Greek or Latin inscriptions.

Where the road changes direction at rather an acute angle, to make its course conformable to the shape of the mountain, I found a continuous row of sarcophagi succeeded for some distance by tombs of every description. Some of the sarcophagi, which were chiefly of white marble, had the Christian monogram carved upon their covers. These were of the fourth or fifth century. Other sarcophagi were ornamented with bulls' heads and rams' heads, and festoons of fruit and flowers; others, again, were much plainer, some being roughly blocked out for similar decoration.[1]

[1] Appendix, Inscriptions on Tombs, &c.

Contents of sarcophagi.

I was unwilling to open any of the tombs or sarcophagi ; but finding that my workmen and others were less scrupulous, I carefully removed some of the covers of the latter, and after examination of the contents, replaced them. In one of these, I found the complete skeletons of fourteen persons, but nothing more ; eight of the bodies had been placed in one direction, and the position of the remainder was reversed. This sarcophagus must have been used as a family grave or vault is at the present day.

In another large sarcophagus I found four skeletons, four flat terra-cotta dishes, and four small terra-cotta vases, but no coins, jewellery, or other article of value. In none of these did I find or expect to find the obolus or passage money for Charon, as they were all Christian tombs.

On a white marble cippus placed over one of the tombs in addition to the usual sepulchral inscription, there were four lines of Greek poetry relating to T. Calpurinius who came from the banks of the Rhine.[1] This inscription is remarkable for being cut with great precision, and deeply incised.

Some of the tombs were vaulted chambers, finished in stucco, and roughly painted, with inscribed tablets over the marble doorways, which were filled in with rubble masonry.

A few of the tombs were ornamented with groups of figures in bas-relief. See woodcut, page 123.

[1] Appendix. Inscriptions from Tombs, &c.

Our woodcut represents a curious monumental stone from a Christian tomb.

Columbaria.

On the side of the mountain near this road an upper road for foot passengers had been constructed by arched recesses where they were required by the irregularities

Christian Tombstone.

of the natural formation. Many of these recesses had been used as columbaria.

Sepulchral recesses.

Above this road, which can be traced, with few interruptions, all round the mountain from the Magnesian to the Coressian Gate, some rough rock-cut inscriptions may be seen with a great number of small deep recesses

(loculi) for sepulchral urns, which probably had been closed by inscribed marble or bronze slabs. Some of these recesses might have been for votive offerings, and probably had sculptured facings like the examples in the British Museum. Higher up the side of the mountain and near the Magnesian Gate there remains one large

Bas-relief from Tomb

roughly hewn sarcophagus. There might have been many more originally, as this part of the mountain, outside the walls, appears to have been one vast cemetery.

Quarries.

This side of Mount Coressus is remarkable for its extensive and deep quarries, none of which, however, yield

white marble, as has been often erroneously stated, the rock being gray crystalline limestone, or gray marble. Some of these quarries are more than 100 feet deep. The wild birds build their nests in them now in perfect safety, and here the traveller might sit from sunrise to sunset without seeing a fellow-creature; the scene forcibly reminding one of the 'rough quarries' and 'rocks' in Othello's oration before the senate.

As the tombs and sarcophagi along the main road

Rock-cut Sepulchral Recesses.

were placed side by side as closely as possible, I opened up the outer side of the road with a continuous trench, always looking for the road, which I thought must inevitably lead off from it towards the Temple.

Via Sacra.

In this Street of Tombs, which, as I eventually learnt, led to the Temple, and which I would venture to call the Via Sacra, were found hundreds of terra-cotta lamps of various forms and sizes, some quite plain, others ornamented with the forms of human, heroic, or mythological

figures, or by animals in relief. We found also ivory and bone pins, from one inch and a half to five inches long, some of which had been covered with a coating of gold leaf.

I did not succeed in finding the site of the Jewish Cemetery which must have existed at Ephesus, but it was possibly at some distance from the city, and in a part of the plain where no excavations were made.

Miscellaneous antiquities.

Amongst other miscellaneous antiquities found in the course of the excavations may be mentioned fragments of small terra-cotta figures, most of which were roughly moulded; one or two pheasant whistles in terra-cotta, ivory and bone knife-handles, bronze nails, buckles, and a few iron implements, fragments in ivory of musical instruments, marbles of the same size as those used by schoolboys in modern times, a few mechanics' implements, of which the most remarkable was a small well-made bronze square for marking off right angles, fragments of bronze basins, a bronze mirror, &c.

Inscriptions.

Some of the inscriptions on the tombs and elsewhere are worthy of particular mention here.

(1.) An inscription on a tablet over the door-way of a tomb, in Greek and Latin, to the memory of P. Terentius Olympus and his family.[1]

(2.) An inscription to the memory of Faustina, who filled the office of κοσμήτειρα of Artemis and to her husband Menander.[2]

(3.) A small sarcophagus of white marble, ornamented

[1] See Appendix, Inscriptions from Tombs, &c.
[2] *Ibid.*

like the large ones, with rams' heads and festoons, inscribed with the name Anassa, wife or daughter of Apollonius.

(4.) Another similar sarcophagus, inscribed with the name Pannychos, his wife Pithane, and his daughter (name omitted), in Greek and Latin.

(5.) The pedestal of a statue erected in honour of Aelius Marcianus Priscus, an Agonothetes in the public games, probably of Ephesus. Two sides of this pedestal are covered with an inscription, part of which appears to be a letter from a Proconsul named Carus.[1]

(6.) An inscribed tablet in the name of a family of gladiators, when Tiberius Julius Rheginus filled the office of Asiarch.[2]

(7.) Another monumental tablet, with an inscription in Latin, recording the name of Apollonius, who was Verna Arcarius of the Province of Asia.

In a comparatively modern building near the road to Magnesia, and about a mile from the city gate, I found the upper stone of an ancient tomb inscribed with the name of Paullus Fabius Persicus, Pontifex, Sodalis Augustalis, Frater Arvalis.

Sepulchre of Androclus.

Pausanias, in his description of Greece, tells us that the Sepulchre of Androclus, surmounted by the figure of a man in armour, was in his time to be seen in the road which led from the Temple of Artemis to the Temple of Jupiter Olympius and the gates called Magnesian.

Bearing this passage in mind, I looked anxiously for this ancient monument in the road which I was there

[1] Appendix, Inscriptions from Great Theatre.
[2] Appendix, *ibid.*

opening up. When I came to a point where this and other buildings might have stood, I cut a number of cross trenches towards the open plain from the outer side of the road, and in this manner found what I believe was the lower part of this sepulchre. These foundations consisted of several courses of cushioned masonry composed of immense blocks of white marble, mounted on a plinth which formed a base 42 feet square. There was a doorway on the east side. A trench cut through the interior of the monument led to no further discovery. The whole of the superstructure had been carried away. The discovery of these remains was most encouraging, as it assured me that I had not missed my way, and that I was still fairly on the road to the Temple. The Sepulchre of Androclus is 2,600 feet from the Magnesian Gate, and it was discovered in February 1869.

I had sought in vain for the Temple of Jupiter; but I believe it would be found between the Sepulchre of Androclus and the Magnesian Gate and between the road and the mountain.

A sharp-witted ganger.

I employed at that time rather a sharp-witted and unscrupulous ganger. When I began digging the trenches, one of which unearthed the Sepulchre of Androclus, the occupier of the land came to ask him whether his master intended cutting many more of those ugly holes, and what right he had to dig them at all. The ganger, foreseeing opposition and possibly the stoppage of the works, replied with an ingenious lie, after the fashion of the country, that his master's right was greater than his (the occupier's); for whereas the latter had paid only

a few piastres for his right (such as it was), his master had paid a large sum of money to the Turkish Government for the privilege of digging there. This appeared to satisfy the man, who very likely had no right whatever to the land, which remained uncultivated for years after I had passed over it. The trenches remained open up to the time of my leaving Ephesus, and no one had applied to have them filled up, The average depth of the excavation along the road traced from the Magnesian Gate was about 12 feet.

Having thus, in the Sepulchre of Androclus, another clue to the site of the Temple, I now continued the excavation with renewed hope of success, and with the energy with which that hope did not fail to inspire me. At the same time I feared that if I did not succeed during that season of 1868–69, in finding some more satisfactory clue to the exact site of the Temple than a mere road (however promising I might think it), I should not obtain another grant, and that thus for want of funds I might be obliged to abandon the excavations.

Hopes and fears.

The fear of failure now cost me many a pang, as I looked over the smooth Plain of Ephesus, with its gentle uninterrupted incline towards the sea, and without any mound to indicate the site of such a building as the Temple of Artemis.

Passing onward from the Sepulchre of Androclus, I continued opening up the road, and by now sinking my pits less frequently than before, I very quickly explored another 600 feet of road. This brought me nearly opposite an ancient road, or bridle-path, which led over the

depressed centre of Mount Coressus towards the Forum on the west side of the city. I here found the road I had been so anxiously looking for, leading away from the foot of the mountain towards the cemetery at Ayasalouk. This road was 45 feet wide, 10 feet wider than the road I had been exploring from the Magnesian Gate. This discovery was another great stride towards success. As far as I was able to explore it, on both sides of the road were marble sarcophagi, one of which was ornamented with a

Discovery of road leading to the Temple.

Sarcophagus with Medusa's Head.

Medusa's head in relief, and was inscribed with the name of P. Cornelius Nicephorus, Nomenclator.

A great and apparently insuperable difficulty now presented itself. I was unable to explore the newly found road for any distance. The whole Plain of Ephesus had that year been sown with barley, and as we were then in the month of April, it had grown up to nearly its full height. Barley in Asia Minor grows high enough to con-

Difficulties.

ceal a man on horseback. I could not venture to cut the barley, as I had not the means to compensate the proprietors or occupiers of the land, and the admission of their claims might have brought upon me a large number of demands, for holes and trenches left open in the ground already explored. I took advantage of a modern boundary between two barley fields, to trace the road for several hundred feet. Looking onward in the direction which it took, I found it pointed towards some large olive trees which grew by the side of a modern boundary, more than half a mile distant, where I had before sunk a trial hole without any satisfactory result, the sand and stones having fallen in before the hole had been sunk to a sufficient depth.

I determined now to venture the small sum total of my balance in hand upon one or two trenches near the olive trees, and as many trial holes, in the ground between them and the foot of the mountain, as the intermediate boundaries might allow. But I had scarcely begun to act upon this resolution, when the Mudir, having an eye to the contents of a large sarcophagus found near the Coressian Gate, stopped the excavations, under the pretence that my firman required renewal. This was a most provoking interruption, but there was no remedy but to go at once to Constantinople, and obtain the renewal of my firman for another year.

Works stopped by the Turks.

The Prince and Princess of Wales were then at the Turkish capital, and there seemed little hope of my affairs being attended to; but through the good offices of Sir Henry Eliott, our Ambassador at Constantinople, I

The Prince and Princess of Wales.

returned to Smyrna in less than a week, with renewed power to continue the excavations.

The Mudir.

When I returned to Ephesus, I found that the Mudir, taking advantage of my absence, had opened the large sarcophagus, with what result I never ascertained. I may here explain that a mudir is a deputy collector of taxes in an appointed district, where he is also head of the police and may make arrests, but he must take his prisoners before a pasha or kaimachan, for trial and judgment.

Works resumed.

I now put a dozen men to dig a large trench near the olive trees, and a few others to dig some trial holes, wherever the boundaries between the fields permitted, in order to trace the direction of the road leading to the Temple. In a few days we found in the large trench a thick wall, built with large blocks of stone and marble, which I hoped would prove to be the peribolus wall of the sacred precinct of the Temple.

Supplementary grant.

I had applied to the Trustees for a further advance of 200*l.*, to continue the excavations till the end of May. My application was fortunately successful ; at the same time it was intimated to me, that this additional grant was only allowed in consideration of my having worked at this apparently hopeless enterprise for so many years, and that unless I succeeded in finding something more satisfactory than a road and a wall, to prove that I was now approaching the site of the Temple, I must not expect further funds to continue the search. Thus it will be seen what a narrow escape we had of losing the prize which ultimately rewarded our perseverance.

Peribolus wall of Temenos discovered.

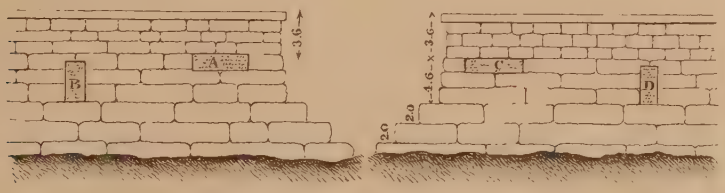
I now carefully studied the ground in the immediate neighbourhood of the morsel of wall found near the olive trees. I observed that the wall took the same direction as that of a modern boundary which formed an angle near the trench I had dug. Suspecting that the modern boundary might mark the position of an ancient wall, I cut another large trench and hit most fortunately upon the angle of the wall into which were built two large stones, equidistant from the angle, with duplicate inscriptions in Latin and Greek, by which we are informed that this wall was built by order of Augustus in the twelfth year of his Consulate and the eighteenth year of his Tribunitian power B.C. 6 and that it was to be paid for and maintained out of the revenues of the Artemisium and the Augusteum. This was therefore, without doubt, the peribolus wall of the Temenos of the Temple of Artemis, described by Tacitus as having been built by Augustus to restrict the limits of the sanctuary or asylum for criminals which had been unduly enlarged by Alexander the Great, Mithridates, and Mark Antony.

Interesting inscriptions.

The Pasha of Smyrna, who had expressed a wish to be informed when I found the Temple in duplicate, had left long before these inscriptions were discovered, or I should certainly have sent him notice of this discovery of an inscription in duplicate, the only one, as it so happened, found at Ephesus, and therefore a lawful prize for the Turkish authorities. I had one of the inscribed stones afterwards conveyed to Smyrna, and formally handed it over to the Turkish commissioner who was appointed to

watch my proceedings, and take possession of all that the Ottoman Government could claim under the conditions of my firman; but the stone remains at the railway station at Smyrna to this day.

The great question as to the whereabouts of the Temple was now decided. Six years had elapsed since I had first begun the search. This seems a long time, but the actual time devoted to the search did not extend over more than twenty months, and the cost of the work did not exceed 2,000*l.* Success.



Peribolus Wall.
A, B, C, D, ARE THE INSCRIBED BLOCKS.

In the course of these excavations I had found Hypocausts of several Roman baths in the open plain of Ephesus, the dwarf columns between the two pavements being composed of terra-cotta. One of these hypocausts was found near the Peribolus wall of the Temple.

Eager to obtain more inscriptions, I opened up the peribolus wall each way from the angle, and at the distance of eighteen feet found on each face another inscription, giving the width of the roads and streams. These were respectively fifteen cubits wide. More inscriptions.

One very interesting fact is connected with all these

four inscriptions. From every one of them the name of the Proconsul had been erased, or rather the fiat had gone forth for its erasure, but it had not been thoroughly executed in every instance A portion of the name ('C. Asinio') still remained on one of the stones.

Interesting historical facts confirmed.

Mr. W. H. Waddington, an accomplished scholar, and expert in the deciphering of Greek inscriptions, but who is now, unfortunately for science, a deputy of the French Assembly, ascertained that this man was C. Asinius Gallus, who was Proconsul B.C. 8, and was put to death by Tiberius A.D. 33, when his name was ordered to be erased from all monuments. Fortunately for us, the mason did not complete his task. Possibly a shower of rain came on while he was executing the order, and what was then left of the name was carelessly allowed to remain, or thus much of the inscription might have been left to show who it was that had been thus dishonoured.

Contract work.

The wall itself was a most disgraceful piece of work, probably contract work! If I had not found the inscriptions built into it, I never could have believed that it had been built in the time of Augustus.

Letter of congratulation.

I received a most gratifying letter of congratulation from Mr. Waddington on the discovery of the peribolus wall, from which I quote one paragraph, showing his appreciation of the discovery: 'I congratulate you most warmly on your most important discovery, the more so because it is not the result of a lucky accident, but entirely due to your wonderful perseverance and tenacity under difficult and sometimes dangerous circumstances.'

False alarm.

While digging deep trial holes all over the Eastern

extremity of the plain, I had many a fright for the safety of the men. On the very spot where I eventually found the peribolus wall, and where I had once or twice before tried to get down, I set a man to dig wide and deep. He did not, however, dig wide enough, and the upright sides of the holes fell in. I came to the spot one afternoon and seeing the man's upper coat and shovel lying on the ground hard by, I supposed that he was in the hole. Hurrying to the nearest gang of men, I brought them to the spot in breathless haste to get out the dying or dead man. Leaving them at work, I rode off in another direction to a man who coolly told me that the supposed victim had gone to a neighbouring café, after the earth had fallen in without doing him any injury. I shall have hereafter to notice one or two accidents caused by the sudden falling in of the sides of excavations, but I may mention that during our eleven years of work we have only lost one life by casualty.

Brigands.

The discovery of the peribolus wall and the inscriptions built into it occurred early in May 1869, and it was at that time that I had several narrow escapes of being taken prisoner by the same band of brigands which, soon after I left Ephesus that year, succeeded in taking Mr. Alfred Van Lennep, on his father's farm, not many miles from Ephesus, and obtaining ransom money to the amount of 1,500*l.*

Narrow escapes.

The narrowest of my escapes from being taken by this band, which was said to number thirteen men, was purely accidental. When they first came to the immemediate neighbourhood of Ephesus I was cutting trenches

and sinking trial holes in the plain between Mount Coressus and Ayasalouk. My men were therefore scattered about digging either singly or in pairs. I made my rounds on horseback in the morning and afternoon, attended by my groom only. We were both unarmed, and no doubt this fact was noted by the brigands, who must have watched my proceedings from some hiding place. On the day which they had fixed for my capture, it happened that a special train was appointed to run from Smyrna to Aidin. At that time Mrs. Wood used to remain in Smyrna, and I went alone to Ephesus for the week; and I had promised, that if a special train ran that week to Aidin, I would meet it at Ayasalouk, and if she were in it accompany her to Aidin. On hearing from the station-master that a special train to Aidin was expected from Smyrna, I met it, omitting to make my morning inspection of the excavations. Mrs. Wood was in the train, and I therefore went on with her to Aidin. On our return in the evening, my two cavasses with several of my workmen met me on the platform of the railway station, and congratulated me on having had a narrow escape.

They then told me that seven brigands had been hidden that day in one of my trenches near the foot of Mount Coressus, and that towards evening three of them had approached one of my trial holes where a single man was digging. Looking down, they asked him where his master was? The man looked up and suspecting their real character shrewdly replied, 'My master! Oh he has gone off to Constantinople.

A TURKISH BRIGAND.

'Indeed! when did he go?'

'To-day.'

'When will he return?'

'In about three weeks or a month.'

With this false information they joined their comrades, and it was hoped they would at once leave Ephesus to seek other game. In case they should not do so quite so soon as we could wish, and as it was probable they might wait one more day to ascertain the truth of what they had been told, I took the precaution of strengthening my body-guard, by hiring two more cavasses, and armed myself with revolver and dagger.

A fortnight before this, I had had a narrower escape than I was aware of at the time. Mr. Waddington had written, asking me to obtain, if possible, a correct copy of an inscription from a fountain at Belevi, which is scarcely a mile from Cosbounar, near which place this band of brigands was reported to be concealed. As I had promised Mr. Waddington to take a careful copy as well as a pressing of this inscription, I was determined to keep my word, although I did not like the idea of falling into the hands of the brigands. To have taken more than one attendant would have been expensive, as I must have taken a horse for each man. I contented myself, therefore, with one cavass, in whose courage I felt quite confident, and who said he would not run away, but would 'fight any number of men.' I was fortunate enough to return in safety from this expedition but I afterwards found that I had done my work of copy-

ing the inscription within a stone's throw of the lair of the brigands.

In connexion with most of the fountains in Asia Minor, there is a raised platform of masonry to which devout Turks mount to pray, after having washed their feet and hands; the fountain at Belevi is a good specimen of this arrangement. It is therefore chosen as an illustration.

Fountain at Belevi.

I may mention one more narrow escape I had from this band of brigands, before I closed the works for the season. I felt myself tolerably secure from attack with my body-guard of four cavasses, till I was warned by a friend who was well acquainted with the habits of the brigands of Asia Minor, that there was danger of an

ambush in the barley, which grew close up to the peribolus wall, where my men were then at work. I must take care, he said, that one of the robbers did not come behind me, and pinion my arms, as the others would then rush out and would not hesitate to shoot any of my cavasses who might interfere to prevent my capture. This attempt was, I believe, made one day. Becoming suddenly aware, from the expression of the face of one of my cavasses, that something unusual was going on behind me, I turned quickly round, and faced a strange-looking man; on asking him what he wanted, he said he only wanted to see the work that was going on there. As this was evidently an idle excuse, he was made to move away. This man was very likely one of the brigands, and his companions might have been hidden in the barley, ready to rush out if he had succeeded in pinioning me. If there were any men concealed in the barley, they were prudently allowed to retire at their leisure.

It is generally believed in Turkey, that when most is heard of brigands there is the least danger of meeting with them. The rule was not applicable in this case. Much was heard of these brigands long before they effected the capture which I have already mentioned and proved their existence in a most objectionable manner.

Intriguing mudir.

The Mudirs of small districts in Turkey are not officials who are overpaid, and they sometimes endeavour to make up all deficiencies by intrigue and trickery. Among those who in addition to their ordinary duties were from time to time appointed to watch my opera-

tions, was an old man who was extremely anxious to gain something more than his legitimate income, and finding that sundry attempts to get 'bakshish' out of me had utterly failed, he hit upon a novel scheme, and one day called upon me with the intention of carrying it out. Descanting most eloquently on the injury which I must have received from the interference of a certain Hadgi Saba, owner of a field adjoining those in which I was working, he urged me to attack him before the authorities, and obtain from him proper redress. Seeing my unwillingness to take this course, he put into my hands a paper which contained a few hints as to the manner in which I should open the attack. I suppose this poor proprietor had given the Mudir some offence. The latter, therefore, while he had an eye to the plunder hoped at the same time to revenge himself on the offender. He must have got some Greek who knew a little English to write the following, which is a verbatim copy of the paper he gave me. I am herein supposed to be appealing by memorial to the Pasha of S myrna.

Amusing memorial.

'I am authorised by imperial orders to search antiquities at Ephesus, where I began to excavate this year. I told the Land Proprietors that I would indemnify their rent according to the land. All the Proprietors consented. I have already spent 400,000 piasters for the Excavations, but Hadgi Saba of Kirkenjee is exciting the people, and in order to prevent my working, he is perverting the Land Proprietors, so that if the land worths 3000 piasters, he asks 10,000 a year, and he says that I either should

pay that sum or shut the holes. By so doing he wishes to make me spend 400,000 piasters, and he has stopped my works a long time. I have lost 60,000 Piasters by his actions. I demand that sum from him. I will pay all the Proprietors according to the value of the rent through the Authorities, but I want my loss of 60,000 Piasters from Hadgi Saba, and I request that a guarantee should be taken from him not to interfere any more in this affair.'

In this strange document may be seen the plan by which the Mudir hoped to make a pretty good thing for himself out of the excavations, for not only did he count on getting a handsome share of the plunder of poor Hadgi Saba, but as the landowners or occupiers would be paid through him, he hoped to retain a considerable percentage of the amount that would so pass through his hands. Poor old man! he did not gain a single para by his scheme, as I would neither attack Hadgi Saba nor consent to pay the landowners through him.

Telegrams.

The following are specimens of telegrams from the Smyrna and Aidin Railway, which may serve as specimens of the 'English' of some of the station-masters:—

'From Mr. P——(General Manager and Engineer) to Mr. Wood.—I Can the barrows send to morrow, the Blangs (planks) as possible after.'

Another: 'We can Suply the whel barrows at Hondred Piasters Each and the Blangs at Seventeen P——'

Some Greek philanthropist of Smyrna so far befriended one of my men, who was too modest to apply directly to me for re-employment, as to write the following

epistle, which the poor man presented with the greatest apparent confidence in its efficacy to secure him a favourable reception :—

February 4, 1870.

Curious letter.

'Mr. Wodin,—Sir, this Caradenigly Ali ses that he has been amply at Afeses in your Work then he got very bad then com to hospital, now he is betr wants to go bac for worke again plees to help and send him bac becouse he ar very poore.

'Your earnest Savant,

'CABRIEL CRITORIAN.'

This poor man was re-employed, but he was far too weak to work, and he was partly supported by the charity of a few of his fellow-workmen. A relapse drove him again to the French hospital at Smyrna, where he was most kindly received in spite of his religion; but as his remaining there would have been contrary to the rules of the hospital, he was eventually removed to the Turkish hospital, where he died during my absence from Smyrna.

I continued opening up the peribolus wall in each direction from the angle found (the south-west angle), but I came across no more inscriptions, and after having traced the direction of the wall for 1,000 feet northwards and 500 feet eastwards, and thus fully proved, with the inscriptions, that the peribolus wall of the sacred precinct had been discovered, we left for England towards the end of May 1869.

Works suspended.

I now felt convinced that, as I had found the sacred precinct of the Temple, I should have no difficulty in obtaining a further grant for the renewal of the excavations. I therefore left everything in preparation for my return in the autumn.

END OF SEASON 1868–9.

PART II.

20 feet in depth according to their position, the foundations of the peribolus wall being about 12 feet underground, on the west side of the Temenos.

Groves of Diana.

Over the large area thus explored, I found not a vestige of any building, until I had worked northward for nearly half a mile. I then began to find the remains of brick walls, and thin marble pavements. The ground over which I had been digging had very likely been occupied, not by buildings, but by groves and streams,—a pleasant place to wander in.

Snakes, &c.

In one of the holes sunk near the peribolus wall, the workman found so many snakes that he was obliged to abandon it. The snakes at Ephesus are generally harmless, but there are some whose bite is venomous and even fatal; one of these is the asp. Scorpions are plentiful, and may be found in abundance under loose stones on the Castle Hill. Of tortoises there is no lack, while owls and bats abound amongst the ruins. On the banks of the Caÿster may be seen a splendid kingfisher of the genus called the 'Smyrna kingfisher.' Otters build their houses in the Caÿster, where they are not liable to be interfered with.

Lack of workmen.

Thunder-storms with heavy showers of rain were frequent at the time when the works were resumed; and as the Turks do not work in the rain, our progress for the first fortnight was slow. There was also great difficulty in obtaining the needful number of workmen, the labour market being drained by the two railways, the coal and emery mines, and the Smyrna quay, which was then being built. I had at that time no English sappers to help me

ROMAN MOSAIC PAVEMENT, NR MAGNESIAN GATE.

in superintending the works, and the Englishman who had been employed by Mr. Newton was a much better cook than ganger, and on leaving my service was installed as keeper of the refreshment-room at the railway station at Ayasalouk, to the great satisfaction of visitors, who availed themselves of his services as a guide to the ruins.

Bas-relief.

In the peribolus wall on the west side, I found a small bas-relief, representing a seated figure, like that of an emperor, handing to an erect figure what looks like a roll of parchment; probably the commission for building the peribolus wall.

Peribolus wall.

I went on tracing the direction of this wall, until, at the distance of sixteen hundred feet from the angle first found, it turned due north. Believing that it must be continued for several hundred feet in that direction, I abandoned it, and confined my attention to the sinking of deep trial holes within the wall. I thus hit upon the front wall of some Roman buildings, which I traced for seven hundred feet in a straight line running eastward. I explored these buildings, which I suppose were the dwellings of the priests, and in a number of cross trenches found some mosaic pavements. One of these represented a triton, with a dish of fruit, and crooked stick; an attendant dolphin carries his trident. This mosaic, which is well executed and remarkably rich in colour, is now safely lodged in the British Museum; but it was with great difficulty taken up from its original position, in which it had remained undisturbed for about eighteen centuries.

Roman buildings and mosaic pavement.

Accident.

Towards the end of October I had the misfortune (as it appeared at the time) to injure my foot so severely that I lost the use of it for some weeks, but as it led to a change in my life at Ephesus, which added greatly to my comfort, I have since regarded it as one of the fortunate accidents of my life. Having suffered so much from fever myself, I had had such a dread of exposing my wife to the risks which I had to encounter, that I had hitherto gone alone to Ephesus, while Mrs. Wood remained in Smyrna. We were thus alone for five or six days every week; but when this accident happened, and I needed assistance, it was arranged that we should both go out to Ephesus together. I went on horseback to the works, while my wife accompanied me on foot. The men were at that time chiefly occupied in digging trial holes within the sacred precinct, searching for the pavement, or other remains of the Temple, which would reveal the secret of its site. Mrs. Wood saved me all useless labour by examining the holes, and reporting to me what might be seen in them, and I had only to alight when something had been found in the excavation which needed my personal inspection. As the holes were in many cases from 20 to 24 feet deep, it was neither a pleasant nor an easy task for a lady to approach their edges, amongst the loose earth, stones, and débris, and, stooping over, to examine them thoroughly on all sides to their lowest depths.

A lady-inspector of works.

For many days I was unable to leave the house. Mrs. Wood went to the works, accompanied by a cavass, and made the necessary inspection of the trial holes, and

even gave instructions to the workmen. My lameness was accompanied by fever and general ill-health; but the prolonged test to which our new mode of life was subjected served only to prove the advantages as well as the pleasantness of the new arrangement, and from that time Mrs. Wood was my constant companion at Ephesus. This made our little home there pleasant, not only for myself, but for visitors, during the last five years in which excavations were carried on. Before this happy change, I was in the habit of bringing with me from Smyrna a piece of cold roasted meat. Having no cook at Ephesus, I could have no vegetables, but the wife of the station-master hearing from my cavass of my frugal dinners, sent me several times a plate of hot potatoes, which made my meal perfectly luxurious.

Happy result of accident.

I may here mention that the works were always suspended on Sundays. As the Turkish labourers simply required one day's rest during the week, the choice of the day being a matter of indifference to them, we made Sunday the holiday, and went down to Smyrna on Saturdays, returning on the Mondays.

During the month of November, the Dowager Marchioness of Downshire, accompanied by her sons, the late Marquis of Downshire and Lord Arthur Hill, came to Smyrna in their steam yacht 'Kathleen,' and paid us a visit at Ephesus. They afterwards most kindly invited us to accompany them on a cruise to some of the islands of the Archipelago. This invitation I was greatly tempted to accept, as my lameness would render the many indulgences kindly promised me specially welcome, and there

Welcome visitors.

was an able surgeon on board the yacht, in the person of Mr. Venning. One other gentleman, Captain Hawker, completed this most agreeable party. But I feared that if we once went on board the yacht, the time of our return to Ephesus would become a matter of uncertainty, although Lord Downshire very kindly promised to put us ashore whenever and wherever I pleased. I feared also that the excavations would not go on so well in my absence, and as I believed myself to be on the point of finding the Temple, I reluctantly declined the invitation, which many of my friends strongly urged me to accept, and which would have afforded me an opportunity not likely to occur again.

Another Roman building.

Meanwhile the excavations proceeded steadily. I had imagined that the long range of Roman buildings, where I had found the mosaic pavements, must flank either the Temple itself or an open space in front of it. I therefore sank a number of deep trial holes southward, and found at the distance of 445 feet the remains of another Roman building, which was probably a small temple, and was mounted on a stylobate of three marble steps. On extending the exploration, I found a mutilated imperial female statue, in white marble, life size, which, not being worth the expense of removal, was left where it was discovered, at the bottom of a deep excavation. As I came across no remains of buildings in the ground between these two Roman buildings, I concluded that it was an open space in front of the Temple, which must now be sought for beyond it, and I therefore put a number of men to work in that direction. About this time we laid bare the re-

mains of a building, which was probably the Augusteum referred to in the inscription found in the peribolus wall. Like the other building above described, it was mounted on three steps. The pavement at the foot of the steps was nearly 20 feet under ground.[1] Augusteum.

Amongst the débris of this building were found

Pan as a Warrior.

a small seated figure of Jupiter, with an eagle in bas-relief on the side of the chair, a curious bas-relief of Pan as a warrior, a headless statue of Minerva, and other fragments of statuary, together with a number of inscriptions, chiefly of thanksgiving to Artemis. Of these in-

[1] The position of this as well as that of the other building is shown on the General Plan.

scriptions one is from Metrodorus, son of Dama,[1] one of the νεοποιοι of the Temple; another was from G. Scaptius Frontinus, also a νεοποιος of the Temple. I suppose that the word νεοποιος here means a person who decorates the Temple with a votive offering in gold or silver.[2]

Change of ganger.

While I was exploring this building, I was obliged to dismiss my ganger for repeated neglect of orders, promoting one of my cavasses, for the time, to this office. A few days later I found this man lying full length, smoking a narghileh, on a mound, near the excavation where the men were at work. He was evidently puffed up with an idea that his privileges must be increased with his responsibilities; but circumstances soon enabled me to send him back to his more legitimate duties. A Greek named Yorghi, called by the English 'Georgie,' presented himself for employment. He had been engaged in similar work on the railroad from Smyrna to Aidin, and came to me with a strong recommendation. I engaged him at once, and he remained in my employment till the excavations were abandoned.

The inscriptions now found showed that I was working on sacred ground, and that the Temple must be near at hand. Indeed the discovery of all these buildings led me to believe that I was close upon the Temple, and I continued sinking trial holes to the depth of 20 feet and upwards.

Exorbitant demands of land-owners.

But I had great trouble just then with the owners or occupiers of the land, who, under the pretence that they

[1] Inscription from Augusteum, No. 1. [2] Ibid. No. 4.

wanted to plough and sow, demanded exorbitant sums as compensation for allowing a few holes to remain open, one man asking as much as 50*l.* for holes in his field, for which he ultimately accepted 3*l.*

Discovery of the Temple of Artemis.

On the last day of the year 1869, the marble pavement of the Temple, so long lost, so long sought for, and so long almost despaired of, was at last actually found at a depth of nearly 20 feet below the present surface of the ground. One of the workmen, who had been put to sink a number of deep holes, in one of the most likely fields of the group in which I was working, struck upon a thick pavement of white marble, which I at once concluded must be that of the Temple. It was the first thick pavement I had found within the sacred precinct. The next day was the first of the Turkish feast of Bairam, but I persuaded the man who found the pavement to work for two or three hours in the morning, before he left for his three days' holiday. On New Year's Day 1870 this pavement proved to be Greek, and eventually it was found to be that of the last Temple but two. It consisted of two layers, the upper one of rubbed white marble 9 inches thick, the lower one, roughly tooled, of grey marble 15 inches thick.

Ill-health.

The excitement caused by this discovery and the hard work to which I was then subjected, were too much for my health. By a note in my journal on the 3rd of January, I find I had been writing that day from 9 A.M. till 10.45 P.M., and that I had suffered from fever every night for three weeks. I did not, however, give in, but continued my work without relaxation.

Trial holes.

Before the Temple was found, I was obliged to save expense by digging the trial holes with almost upright sides, and of as small dimensions as possible. I generally marked them out on the surface of the ground about 8 feet by 10 feet, and by the time they were sunk to the depth of 18 or 20 feet the workmen could just clear a sufficient space at the bottom of the excavation to show any pavement, wall, or other remains of buildings which might be found in them. If rain fell before these holes were sunk to the necessary depth, the falling in of the sides often caused much trouble and expense, as we were compelled not merely to clear them out, but in many cases enlarge them before they could be carried deeper.

The great depth at which the pavement of the Temple was found is accounted for by the silting up of the site by the mountain streams, which still bring down an immense quantity of detritus from the mountains. The difference of level of the ground near the Temple and at the peribolus wall on the west side of the sacred precinct is as much as ten feet.

The Greek, Yorghi, whom I took into my service as ganger early in January of this year, proved himself to be active, clever, and energetic, and was never absent from his work. He now lives at Ayasalouk, and earns his livelihood (till the excavations are resumed) by escorting travellers over the ruins. He has the privilege of cultivating the eight acres of land which contain the site of the Temple, and now belong to the British Government, on condition that he protects the ruins of the Temple

from spoliation. Before I had the good fortune to meet with this man, I had tried not less than eight gangers, who had all been, for various reasons, most unsatisfactory. Of these, two were Englishmen, one French, one a Smyrniote Catholic, one Greek, two Turks, and one the son of a converted Turk. The Englishmen, I am sorry to say, were the worst of all.

Strike.

I had at that time an Albanian cavass, who was what schoolboys would call a great sneak. He would faithfully report any shortcomings of the men, while he himself stole their tobacco, bread, and other provisions from the brink of the holes in which they were digging, till at last they were so indignant that, without giving me any notice, and indeed without pausing to ask if I was aware of the man's misdeeds, they all resolved to leave in a body. Hence one morning, as I proceeded to the works, I met them all with their picks and shovels coming away. When I spoke to them they declared that they would not resume their work unless I discharged that cavass. As this might not be a very convenient precedent for the future management of my men, I refused to do what they wished, but told them that he should in future have other duties than the superintendence of the men at work. With this assurance they were appeased, and returned to their work. But what annoyed me most was that one of my best workmen, who had had his wages raised to the maximum height, headed the men as their leader and adviser, and not merely acted as spokesman for them all, but seemed at first the most obstinately disinclined to listen to my remonstrances.

January 14, 1870.—I found that the mice had destroyed one of my paper pressings of inscriptions. No doubt they found that the soft pulpy paper would make excellent nests or beds for their young families, whilst the fact that the room below had been a granary accounted for the number of mice in the house.

Edrise, the cavass.

The quarrels between native Turks and Greeks were sometimes serious, but more often simply amusing. One of my cavasses (Edrise) came to me one day in a furious rage with the bakal, who had given him pork for his dinner, assuring him it was veal, not pork. This cavass was one of my most faithful servants, and among other accomplishments, he was capable of taking excellent paper pressings of inscriptions. It was quite an amusing sight sometimes to see him start off on horseback on an inscription-copying expedition, as, with a great air of authority he gave his orders to a man on foot, who followed him with the paper case, &c.

January 20.—While I was superintending the workmen, who were digging holes in the ground, on or near the site of the Temple, a horseman rode up to me in great excitement and told me I must send *twenty men* to take a horse out of one of the holes left open near the Magnesian Gate. I sent six men, and they got the horse out safely; but the lady's saddle was destroyed, which I the more regretted as it turned out to be the property of a friend of mine who with her husband was kindly escorting some people over the ruins.

I had always great difficulty with the bakals who supplied the men with bread, dried fish, cheese, and other

provisions. The bread was very bad, sometimes like *mud*, as the men expressed it, and generally short of weight, one oke ($2\frac{3}{4}$ lbs.) of four hundred drachms being represented generally by a loaf weighing only 350 or 360 drachms, the price of this being two piastres, (about $4\frac{1}{4}$d). The complaints of the men were sometimes loud, but more generally deep; but whether loud or deep, they had very little effect upon the bakal, who only cared to make as many piastres as he could by the sale of his bread. One half the men, therefore, bought flour, and made their own bread. These men were thus able to save most of their wages, and I had the pleasure of giving them many a Turkish pound in exchange for their savings in silver. Difficulties with the bakal.

Much has been said about the *honesty* of the Turks; I am sorry I can say little in support of statements in their favour. They would generally steal any small object of value found in the excavations, and did not scruple to commit the most heartless robberies on their fellow-workmen. One poor man was thus robbed of all his savings at the end of a season. About one-third of the sum he lost was collected for the benefit of the victim.

Hard frosts set in this year with the month of February, during which I was employed in sinking many holes over the site of the Temple, and enlarging the one in which the pavement was found. At the same time I continued to explore the long line of building in front of the Temple, and found a number of mosaic pavements. Frosts.

February 9.—Found a large fragment of a Grecian

Coloured marble.

Doric cornice in the field in which I afterwards found a large Doric building on the south side of the Temple. The cornice retained vestiges of colour—blue, vermilion, and gold.

About this time I filled up all the holes dug against

Discovery of Temple.

the peribolus wall, to leave no room for demands on the part of the occupiers, who now wanted to plough the land.

Storks.

March 3.—The first stork appeared on one of the piers of the aqueduct at Ayasalouk. It was soon followed by others, till every pier was occupied by a pair. Sometimes a quarrel took place, and there was a fight for the possession of a pier, for the sake perhaps of the old

nest, which they leisurely built up again with sticks and twigs brought from the surrounding fields. These lazy birds spend quite a fortnight in building their nests.

Deluge.

March 14.—The lower village of Ayasalouk was flooded by the heavy rain last night. People were obliged to take refuge up the trees; the excavations were swamped, all the holes being half filled with water; and great masses of earth had fallen in from the sides. The damage done was considerable, and we were obliged to confine ourselves chiefly to surface work for some days.

Illuminated manuscript.

April 6.—Visiting the Greek church at Kirkenjee, we saw an illuminated manuscript book which was said to have been discovered in a marvellous manner. It is a liturgy composed from the Gospels of the four Evangelists, and was found (the priests say) in a cave at Ephesus, the man who found it being attracted by a strong light, which emanated from the open book itself! Large sums of money have been offered for the book, but the people of Kirkenjee will not consent to part with it, as they believe that it is their charm against misfortune. Something that happened to them on a former occasion, when the book was for a time on loan, put this idea into their heads. The book is very handsomely bound, and is kept carefully folded in a white cloth edged with gold lace. It is taken out of its covering by the priests, with every show of reverence, when visitors (who are expected to give backshish) ask to see it. The title page is missing, the body of the manuscript is written in cursive Greek, in black ink, accentuated with red ink, and is, like most

Greek superstition.

manuscripts of the kind, executed in a clear and masterly hand.

Site of Temple.

The site of the Temple, now undoubtedly discovered, was more than half a mile distant from the corner of the peribolus wall first found, and nearly due north of it. The need of searching over so vast an area accounts, in some measure, for the months that elapsed between the discovery of the peribolus wall, and that of the Temple itself; but the delay is further explained by the fact, afterwards ascertained, that we had previously dug many a hole over the site, without meeting with any sign to show that we were near it.

Fatal accident.

The only fatal accident that happened during the excavations now occurred. One of the workmen, a black man, was killed by suffocation at the bottom of the hole where the coloured Greek cornice already mentioned was found. I had ordered the ganger to have it taken up out of the hole that I might show it to Mr. Newton on his arrival at Ephesus. Unfortunately, during the time which passed between the issuing of the order and its execution, a heavy fall of rain rendered the sides of the hole loose and dangerous. The ganger, considering my order imperative, prepared to execute it early on Monday morning. The man who was killed was therefore sent down to adjust a rope around the stone; he had done so, but was stooping again to perfect the adjustment, when the sides of the hole fell in, and completely covered him. In about seven minutes he was taken out by his fellow-workmen, but it was too late, and when I arrived about two hours after the accident, accompanied by Mr. New-

SMALL MOSQUE. AYASALOUK.

M & N HANHART LITH

ton, the poor man was stretched out at full length, on an improvised bier (his feet towards the Kebla and Mecca), in the picturesque ruined little mosque in the lower village of Ayasalouk. He was dressed in his light working clothes, which being wet showed his well-proportioned form to great advantage. His head was covered with a cloth, which, on being removed, disclosed a calm smiling face. Mr. Newton's exclamation immediately was, 'How like sculpture! no doubt the ancient Egyptians took their sculpture from the dead.' I had to pay the expenses of the poor man's burial, the Mollah grumbling at a fee of thirty piastres.

April 21.—My men were now nearly all employed in extending the large excavation on the site of the Temple, and I took out the inscribed stones from the angle of the peribolus wall. Their removal to the railway station was effected by a bullock cart drawn by two bullocks, which were yoked to it with some difficulty. One of the animals resisted furiously. 'The yoke, the goad, and the stony ground' of Scripture are all to be found at Ephesus. In ploughing, the bullocks are yoked together, and are driven by a goad or long sharp pointed rod, while the stony ground pervades the whole of the ruins of the city and suburbs, small fragments of marble being so thick on the ground that it is impossible to avoid stepping on them.

Bible references.

The various religious bodies in Smyrna are in the habit of coming out to Ephesus on appointed days in the year, which they keep holy, or devote to certain saints.

Religious services at Ephesus.

The Roman Catholics make the great Mosque at Ayasalouk their rendezvous or place of worship. The Archbishop on a recent occasion had an altar arranged on the east side, and performed a regular Mass, which was attended by about fifty ladies and gentlemen of his congregation, who had come out to Ephesus expressly for that purpose. This was done with the belief that this building was originally a Christian church, which it certainly never was, having been built originally by the Turks as a mosque. The Catholic Archbishop, however, preferred to retain the belief which he encouraged in others. The Greeks have done the most sensible thing: they have built for themselves a small church on the hill at Ayasalouk, over the site of an ancient Greek church, which was possibly the Church of St. John, as that was known to have been built on a hill. These ruins, which comprised a number of columns and a large marble chair, were discovered by some railway people. Here on Sundays and saints' days they have regular services, which are announced by the tolling of a bell not far from the church. Near this little church a young Greek lived as a hermit, his bed, which consisted of a paploma (quilt) laid upon the bare earth, being made in a recess in the wall. During the day he employed himself in solitary religious exercises, and in painting heads of the Virgin and saints, which were purchased by the devotees who visited the ruins of Ephesus.[1]

The Armenians keep one day in the year holy at

[1] An English lady who visited Ephesus pointed out to him the uselessness of his life, and he left a few days after.

Ephesus, going thither in crowds, and occupying large tents, which are pitched for them by the railway authorities, on the eve of the saint's day, on the top of Mount Coressus. I have never witnessed their services, as I have those of the Roman Catholics, but there are certain large stones on the mountain, which, as they believe, belonged originally to a church there, and within a certain area defined by these stones they hold their services.

Earthquakes.

My journal records seven shocks of earthquake during the month of April this year (1869). Every year there are earthquakes in Asia Minor, more or less violent. The earthquake that destroyed Mitylene was distinctly felt in Smyrna, and caused great alarm.

Compensation to landowners.

I had great difficulty in settling the amount of compensation to the occupiers of the land over which we were now digging, the Mudir backing up the claimants in their extravagant demands, and declaring, when I demurred to them, that my cases of stones packed ready for transmission to the British Museum, should not be allowed to go down to Smyrna. I was however always stronger when in the right than any Mudir, and in this case overruled his objections without paying larger sums than I thought proper for the land. On one occasion I was almost provoked to use force, the zaptiehs having placed themselves in front of the railway trucks, which were put ready to receive the cases. My cavasses looked to me for orders, but fortunately, as Mrs. Wood was sitting near, I decided rather to submit to the annoyance of delay than to use violence.

Close of season.

The season closed with the approach of intolerably

hot weather towards the middle of May. I had actually discovered the Temple itself, although the evidence was not sufficient to prove the fact quite satisfactorily. I had found one or two patches of the Greek pavement, in two layers as before described, and I had struck upon one of the foundation-piers of the columns of the peristyle. I had also found two sculptured stones, which afterwards proved to be fragments of one of the sculptured drums of a column, but I had not found any other pieces of archi-

Drum of a Column.

tectural detail, which might be recognised as part of the Temple. Although I had really, as I afterwards found, made fair progress, I suspended the works with a heavy heart, being uncertain how my imperfect discoveries up to that time would be regarded by the Trustees of the British Museum. I must, however, have had some hope that they would allow the exploration to be continued, for my notes remind me that I left my house at Ayasalouk furnished ready to return to in the autumn, and also

that I had been authorised to pay in advance, after the manner of the country, the enormous rent of forty Turkish pounds, for this little house of five rooms only.

Voluntary services.

It may here be mentioned that from the time I injured my foot, and consented to the arrangement that Mrs. Wood should accompany me to Ephesus, she bestowed her care not only upon myself, but on all the workmen also, doctoring them with a success which was quite marvellous. So renowned did she become in the neighbourhood, partly perhaps because her services and medicines were gratuitous, that people came from the villages in great numbers, and she has had sometimes between sixty and seventy patients in the course of the day. In doing this, she had to encounter much that was loathsome and disagreeable, but she had the satisfaction of doing much to alleviate the sufferings of the poor creatures by whom we were surrounded, and whose condition was more or less at our mercy.

May 14.—We left for England.

END OF SEASON 1869–70.

CHAPTER II.

1870–71.

Journey Out—Heavy Rains—Drums of Columns Found—Pottery—Narrow Escape—Removal of Mosaic Pavement—Remains of Temple—Last Three Temples—Large Capital Found—Ramazan—Ancient Greeks and Modern Protestants—Dr. Schlieman—Amount of Work Done—Rains—Discovery of the First Column *in situ*—Colour—Displacement of Column Base—Courban Bairam—Purchase of Land—Travelling in Turkey—Illustrious Visitors—Turkish Soldiers—Discovery of Hidden Treasure—'Theologos'—Further Discoveries—Squabbles—Close of Season.

Journey out.

THE Franco-German war had begun before the time came for our return to Smyrna. On the 8th of September we left London, and in order to avoid the horrors of the war, we were obliged to pass through Belgium and northern Prussia to Berlin. On our way we saw hundreds of the wounded, and French prisoners with Prussian escorts on the railways; the red cross, and litters, and ambulance-waggons at all the stations; barrels on end at the street corners for the contribution of cigars for the wounded; women picking lint at the refreshment rooms at Aix-la-Chapelle; sisters of charity, with their black and white clothing and long rosaries, acting as nurses, and other signs of a great struggle between two powerful nations. At Berlin we saw, in the Palace yard,

the first mitrailleuse taken from the French, which attracted a crowd of inquisitive people from morning to night. The Germans were by that time very confident of success. By way of Vienna and Trieste we finally reached Smyrna September 29th, and October 3rd I resumed the excavations on the site of the Temple, by cutting an easy road for the barrow-men to the bottom of the large excavation. This took me from 12 to 14 days with the few men I could at first obtain. I then continued to enlarge the holes already dug, and opened new ones.

Heavy rains.

Towards the end of October the lower part of the village of Ayasalouk was again deluged with the heavy rains, as it had been during the month of March. Some of the inhabitants narrowly escaped being drowned. Everything was set afloat in the cafés, and the water found its way more freely than before into the excavations, Georgie, the ganger, valuing the damage to us at two thousand piastres (nearly 18*l.*).

October 1870.

Drums of columns found.

Before the end of this month I had considerably enlarged the excavation which had laid bare a great portion of one of the foundation piers for the columns of the peristyle, and exposed to view the goodly sight of half-a-dozen large drums of the columns themselves, which had fallen upon one of the outer piers on the south flank of the Temple, and had been caught by this pier, and a wall connecting it with the adjoining pier. The sight of this group of fluted blocks, with a fragment of one of the capitals, encouraged the hope that on opening up the whole site much more would be found remaining;

but these remains must have belonged to one of three columns which were evidently allowed to stand long after the destruction of the Temple. Although these drums had been allowed to remain to a certain extent as they had fallen, they had, with only one or two exceptions, been so much hacked about and damaged that it was

Village of Ayasalouk.

impossible for me to obtain such measurements as would have enabled me to ascertain their exact shape. This is much to be regretted, more especially as the upper diameter of the column appears to be small compared with the lower diameter, as I have since ascertained, although I was ignorant of the fact at that time.

When these frusta or drums of columns were first

found, I doubted whether they belonged to the great Temple mentioned by Pliny, who described it as having columns sixty feet high. For, taking that dimension as my guide for the height of the columns, and the account given by Vitruvius respecting the proportions of the Grecian Ionic order, viz. eight and a half diameters in height, I had expected to find columns upwards of seven

Discovery of Columns.

feet in diameter, whereas the drums of columns at that time found measured only 5 feet 3 inches to 5 feet 7 inches. I still hoped, however, that the results of further explorations would prove this to have been the Temple, and that I should be able to reconcile my discoveries on the site with the statements of Pliny and Vitruvius.

On the pavement near these remains of the Temple, Pottery.

was found a great quantity of broken black Greek pottery of the finest description, fragments of lamps, vases, tazzas, &c., but not one perfect piece.

Narrow escape.

November 1.—One of my quickest and most expert workmen was put to enlarge the hole where the poor black man had lost his life, and he had nearly succeeded in sinking it to the required depth, when some tons of sand fell in about him, and half buried him. Fortunately he was not hurt; but as I found the sand here so treacherous I abandoned for the time any further attempt to get the stone up out of the hole.

Removal of mosaic pavement.

Towards the end of November I took up the mosaic pavement which I had found during the last season. This was not easily done, as there were then several feet of water over it, and it was quite as much as the little pump I then had could do to keep it down. A deal frame was prepared like the four sides of a shallow box, large enough to enclose as much of the pavement as we wished to take up. Having then cut away the pavement all around so far as to allow the case to be placed in position, we severed the mosaic from its foundation with long chisels, in widths of about 5 inches, inserting, one by one, boards of that width, and just long enough to make, when all were inserted, the bottom of the case. This, the most difficult part of the work, was done with great skill, by an English carpenter named 'Long Wilson,' who had worked under my directions at the stations of the Smyrna and Aidin Railway. We then laid a piece of coarse canvas over the surface of the mosaic, and spread over it a thick layer of melted glue,

MOSAIC PAVEMENT.
FROM ROMAN BUILDING NEAR TEMPLE OF DIANA.

M&N. HANHART LITH

which, percolating through the open canvas, secured it to the pavement in one compact mass. We then filled up the case with liquid gypsum (plaster-of-Paris) to the depth of several inches, and having prized up the whole, inserted two strong deals under the case. With great difficulty twenty men lifted it out of the hole, which was 13 feet 6 inches deep, up a steep sloping road, cut expressly for the purpose, and finally carried it through the ploughed fields to the road leading to the railway station, a distance in all of nearly three-quarters of a mile. As they passed through the ploughed fields, the men, being slip-shod, dropped their shoes repeatedly, and I was obliged to tell off two men to follow them, and replace the shoes on their feet. Twenty men were as many as could get under the case, and it was quite as much as they could carry over such difficult ground. At the time I flattered myself that we had succeeded in taking up this mosaic pavement without the slightest injury, but in spite of all our care, we did not quite succeed. Part of the Triton's face, and of the dish of fruit which he holds aloft, are missing. These defects are the more to be regretted, as they cannot very well be restored from the small drawing I was able to make in the bitterly cold weather before it was removed. The long range of buildings from which this mosaic was taken was probably occupied by the priests and officials of the Temple. To the north of these buildings was found a beautiful spring of fresh water about 14 feet under ground, which served to supply the men until the excavations were abandoned. Most of my workmen were

now employed in wheeling away the soil and débris, and enlarging the excavations, which began to assume dimensions of some importance, and which eventually proved to be near the south-western angle of the Temple.

Remains of Temple.

December 1st is marked in my journal as a red-letter day, for on this day I have recorded that at last we found part of the base of the column to which the group of drums belonged, and, in position, a large square block of marble which proved afterwards to be the plinth stone of the base of a column belonging to a more ancient temple, indeed, of the last Temple but two, the foundations of which were commenced 500 B.C. The size of this plinth is only 7 feet 8½ inches, while that of the plinths of the last temple is 8 feet 8 inches; but the position on plan of the plinths of the last three temples appears to have been identical.

Last three temples.

Large capital found.

December 9th was found one of the capitals, which, although much mutilated, gave a good idea of its boldness and grandeur. On seeing this, I felt more assured of the fact that I had discovered the Temple, and I determined that Pliny and Vitruvius should no longer mislead me, for what building could this be but the great Temple of Diana? The Augusteum, mentioned in the inscriptions in the peribolus wall, must be a comparatively small building, and Roman in style.

Ramazan.

The 30 days' fast of Ramazan, during which the Turks allow nothing, not even a cigarette or a drop of water, to pass their lips from sunrise till sunset, had now begun. The Mudir of the district, hearing of 'marvellous discoveries' at Ephesus, came down from Kirkenjee,

where he was quartered, and paid me a visit. Being a good Turk, he refused coffee, but accompanied me to the works to see the 'wonders' he had heard of. On my showing him the drums of the large columns, and the capitals, he asked me to what building they had belonged. I told him they were the remains of an ancient mosque or church, in the time of the ancient Greeks, when they did not worship the one true God, but had many gods, male and female, and that this church was dedicated to the worship of a female, whose statue, forty or fifty feet high, was set up inside it. 'Ah,' said the Mudir, as if a new light had broken in upon him, 'they were *Protestants*.' I did my best to undeceive him, and to make him understand that we (Protestants) were not worshippers of idols, but he evidently did not understand how Protestant worship could be anything but idolatrous, since we had not Mahomet as our prophet, and the whole thing remained a mystery to him.

Ancient Greeks and modern Protestants.

December 16.—This day the celebrated Dr. Schlieman, the discoverer of Troy, visited the excavations. He was kindly enthusiastic in his congratulations when he planted his foot upon the '*veritable*' pavement of the Temple. He had been digging in the Troad, but had been stopped by the Turks, and he now asked my opinion, whether he could get a firman to dig in the Troad in search of the city of Troy. I expressed my doubts, as the Turks had made known their determination to grant no more firmans for excavations. He said they might have what was found, as he was anxious only to prove by excavations his own theory about the position of Troy,

Dr. Schlieman.

and being a rich retired merchant, he could well afford to spend out of his income ten thousand francs a year.

Amount of work done.

Before the close of the year I had removed about 4,000 cubic yards from the large excavation, besides sinking a number of pits over the site of the Temple. We had unusually hot weather, slight shocks of earthquake, and rumours of a band of brigands at Ephesus, towards the close of this month.

1871.

January 6.—Mr. Newton arrived this day from England. He was delighted, on visiting the excavations at Ephesus, to see so many proofs that the Temple had at last been found.

Rains.

This year the rains came on early. January 13th the pavement of the Temple was under water to the depth of 3 feet 3 inches, on the 16th as much as 4 feet 5 inches, and on the 25th it rose still higher, being then 5 feet 2 inches.

The insufficient number of our barrows, and the impossibility of getting any ready-made, caused some delay with the excavations, which were now to be prosecuted with greater vigour. The heavy rains also impeded the progress of the work, and the damage to the railway in several places prevented my travelling between Smyrna and Ephesus for some days. At last, on February 6th, I was able again to visit the works, and on that day the fine base of one of the columns on the south flank was discovered in position. A ladder was placed for me to descend the hole; but I was so excited, and so careless in my hurry to get down, that I fell head foremost, much to the amusement of the men, as I suppose it must have

Discovery of the first column *in situ*.

BASE OF A COLUMN.
FOUND IN POSITION.

M & N. HANHART LITH.

been, although they did not show it in the slightest degree. This base is now re-erected in the British Museum, and gives a very fair notion of the grand scale on which the last Temple was built.

Colour.

Portions of this base (the scotia) retained much of the red colour with which it had been originally tinted, but exposure to light and air has so completely dissipated the colour that there are now no signs of it. The angle at which the square plinth of the base stood at the time of its discovery, misled me for a time as to the direction of the Temple. I had had hitherto nothing to guide me, excepting the supposition that its direction would be the same as that of the long line of Roman buildings in front; the plinth, however, had been moved out of its original position, probably by the fall of the column, when the thrust would be very great, nor was it till I had laid bare the foundations, and a considerable portion of the ground in the supposed direction of the building, that I was quite convinced of the displacement of this great mass of masonry.

Displacement of column base.

Courban Bairam.

March 1.—Most of my men were absent for the feast of Courban Bairam, to which they devote several days and eat lamb as we do at Easter. I had now two certain points between which I could work with the complete assurance that I was on the site of the Temple, viz. the plinth stone of the base of one of the columns near the western end, and the base of another near the centre of the south flank. I had thus a large area to work over, and I took advantage of it. I was now better able to determine in which direction the débris should be wheeled.

By degrees the masonry which supported the steps on that side was exposed to view, with the piers or buttresses which united the masonry with the foundation-piers of the columns of the peristyle; and I soon obtained an approximate dimension for the intercolumniations on the flanks of the Temple, together with more positive data for the direction of the Temple, which was ultimately ascertained to be a few degrees south of due east and west. I also found large patches of the pavement of the last Temple but two, some more drums of columns, a fragment of one of the architraves, and a stone from the tympanum of the west pediment. On the pavement in many places were found ashes and splinters of calcined marble, the ashes in some places as much as 6 inches in depth; the effects of fire were also to be seen on many of the large blocks of marble belonging to the Temple which rested on the pavement.

March 2.—Had photograph taken of base of column in position by an Armenian photographer from Smyrna.

Purchase of land.

This month the owners of the ground over which I was digging came for compensation, at the same time offering their land for sale, but I could come to no agreement with them. There were in all about 8 acres, for which I offered 145*l.* This they would not accept, pretending to want about three times that amount. As it was absolutely necessary that I should buy the land before I proceeded much farther—for it would now have cost more to fill up the holes I had dug, and hand it over to the owners in its original condition, than to pur-

chase the land—I invited them down to Smyrna, that I might have the assistance of Mr. Consul Cumberbatch and his people in the negotiation. The men came down to Smyrna; but as they had not brought with them the deeds or documents necessary to sell the land, it became necessary that they should return to Ayasalouk and start off to Scala Nova, where the books relating to the Ephesian territory are kept. On reaching Ayasalouk with their papers the next day, they declared they could not go farther; so I had the horses prepared, and with two of my cavasses I prevailed upon them to mount and start for Scala Nova. We had some difficulty in persuading them to go on, even when they had mounted; but as they went on, their objections melted away or were overruled, and we all safely reached Scala Nova. Here they went to borrow money under the escort of my cavasses, and it turned out that of 13 doulooms which one of the men wanted to sell me, he had really purchased of Government only 5 doulooms; the other 8 doulooms he had cleared and fenced in with his own. Having cleared the land, however, he had obtained the right to purchase it at a fixed price, before all other applicants. With the valuable aid of Mr. Xenophon Alexarchi, our consul at Scala Nova, I managed to complete the purchase of all the land I wanted in the course of two days, during which I was occupied at the Konak between six and seven hours. The whole was bought for a little more than 160*l.*, and I was authorised by the trustees to pay 200*l.* if necessary. It was most fortunate that the purchase of the land was effected just at that time, as will be seen hereafter. The

Travelling in Turkey.

road between Ayasalouk and Scala Nova is in some places rough and mountainous, and the natives habitually take three hours for the journey. But there are two police cafés on the road, at one of which they are almost sure to loiter and take coffee or raki. The road has a bad reputation for robbers, and as the keepers of the cafés are seriously suspected of complicity with them, it is considered prudent to conciliate them by halting for refreshment, which is scarcely needed in so short a ride. I find by my notes that in going to Scala Nova accompanied by, and therefore hindered by, the landowners, the journey occupied $3\frac{3}{4}$ hours; but in returning, accompanied only by two of my cavasses, the journey was performed in $2\frac{1}{4}$ hours. The delay, in travelling with the people of the country, may be further accounted for by their imperfect horse furniture, where string and rope are substitutes for leather. The girths are very apt to break, and the horseman, mounted on a high wooden saddle resembling a pack-saddle, loses his equilibrium, and comes suddenly to the ground. The ordinary refreshment taken by travellers at these roadside cafés is a very diminutive cup of black coffee, which consists chiefly of what they call the 'cream' and a deep sediment of muddy grounds. The cup itself is dirty-looking, if it is not positively dirty, and I have often sickened over the nasty dose taken out of compliment. On the occasion of my being accompanied, as in this instance, by men whom I wished to conciliate, we halted at both these cafés on the road, and I took the mud with as good a grace as I could assume.

Illustrious visitors.

The Duke of Sutherland and the Marquis of Stafford visited Ephesus in the course of this month. As his Grace had hospitably entertained H.M. the Sultan during his visit to England, orders had been sent from Constantinople to the Pasha of Smyrna to do the Duke especial honour. Half a squadron of cavalry and half a company of infantry accompanied him and his suite to Ephesus as a body-guard. As there was no real need for any guard at all, we were much amused by the manœuvres of the soldiers, deploying into line, and then extending and skirmishing as we approached the base of the mountain, as if there were really an enemy before them. As we crossed the plain, the Duke asked me whether we could not give this 'army' the slip, and I said 'Certainly,' and spurred my horse, all following, towards the pretended 'Cave of the Seven Sleepers;' but the wonderful vigilance and extraordinary running powers of the Turkish infantry were here shown, for they were at the cave almost as soon as we were with the splendid horses which the Pasha had sent to mount us, and they had to run over fully two-thirds of the ground that we had to traverse. So we gave up the idea of getting rid of them, and they continued to do the laborious duty imposed upon them.

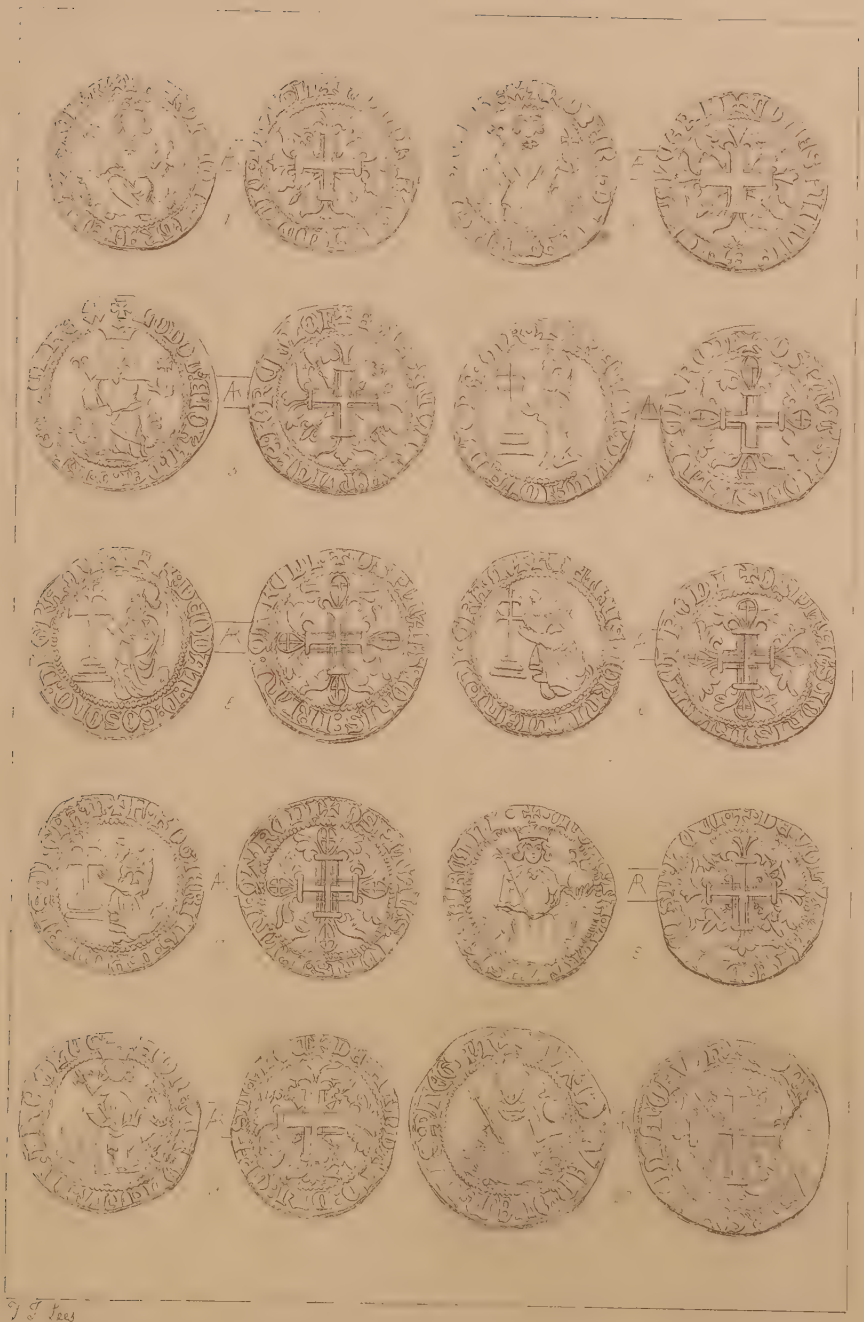
Turkish soldiers.

Discovery of hidden treasure.

April 7 was a notable day at Ephesus. The workmen, in opening up new ground on the north side of the excavations, came upon an earthenware vessel about 5 feet under ground, containing more than 2,000 coins, and some lumps of the metal of which the coins were made. The three cavasses then employed were fortunately on the

spot, and prevented what might otherwise have proved a general scramble for the treasure. Checking all attempts of the workmen to appropriate some of the coins, they made the man who found them bring them to my house. It was most fortunate that these coins were not found before I bought the land, as in that case the landowners would never have consented to part with it for any reasonable sum. The coins found were all forwarded eventually to the Trustees of the British Museum, that they might be examined and sorted by some competent person in the medal department. This task devolved upon Mr. Grueber, who published a full description of the coins in a pamphlet communicated to the Numismatic Society of London. Mr. Grueber describes it as a hoard of coins comprising 'specimens of many of the nations of Europe which were, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, mixed up with the affairs of the East. It consists of coins of Naples, Rhodes, the Seljuk Emeers, Venice, Genoa, and the Papal States. The whole hoard embraces a period of about eighty years, so that the coins of which it consists must all have been current at one time. The earliest date which can be assigned to any of the coins is 1285; these were struck by Charles II. of Naples. The latest may be placed not after 1365, these having been struck by Roger de Pins, Grand Master of Rhodes. From this it may be concluded that the hoard must have been buried not later than the year 1370, if not even earlier.'

Mr. Grueber gives the following list of the coins, comprising the whole of them, which were sent to England in two packages :—



COINS FOUND ON THE SITE OF THE TEMPLE
OF DIANA AT EPHESVS.

'Naples (1603 coins).—10 of Charles II., 1569 of Robert I., and 24 of Louis and Johanna.

'Rhodes (786 coins).—162 of Elion de Villeneuve, 101 of Deodato de Gozon, 113 of Pietro Comillano, and 410 of Roger de Pins.

'Seljuks (20 coins).—17 Theologi of Ephesus and 3 of Magnesia.

'Genoa (1 coin).—A coin struck in the Island of Chios during the time of the Maona of Justiniani.

'Papal States (3 coins).—Giulio of Pope John XXII.

'Venice (1 coin).—A matapan of Francis Dandolo.

'Thirteen various blundered and unascertained coins.'

The white metal found with these coins contained about 25 per cent. of silver.

'Theologos.' Perhaps the most interesting of the coins are those struck at Ayasalouk, bearing as they do the word 'Theologos,' which was the mediæval name for Ayasalouk, and going far to prove that St. John's Church was erected at that place.

Further discoveries. Some of the foundation-piers of a church or other building were now found within the walls of the cella of the Temple on the north side. Towards the east end of the Temple we discovered the foundations and base of a large monument only eight feet below the present surface. A large Roman sarcophagus was also laid bare near this spot, showing that some time after the destruction of the Temple a cemetery occupied the site.

Squabbles There was great jealousy between my Greek ganger, George, and one of my Turkish cavasses. This circum-

stance was more or less favourable to the interests of the excavations, as they would report of one another; but it was the cause of many a quarrel, in which I was often called upon to interfere. One day the cavass so far lost his temper that he struck the ganger a severe blow with his stick; I punished him by taking not only his stick from him, but his sword also, in the presence of all the workmen. This humiliating act had the desired effect, and he kept a better watch over himself ever after.

Close of season.

The season closed this year May 10th. An area of about 210 feet by 130 feet had been explored to as great a depth as the water standing in the excavations would allow. The heavy rains had been very unfavourable for the excavations. Early in the year the water stood so high that it was impossible to dig to a greater depth than 15 feet below the surface, whereas most of the stones composing the débris of the Temple rested on the pavement at an average depth of 22 feet. The latter months of the season were therefore employed in preparing ground over a large area for full exploration to the level of the pavement in the autumn, by which time the water would sink. With the discovery of the column *in situ*, and the masonry supporting the steps, together with the foundation-piers and walls, which gave me the intercolumniations on the south flank, I was obliged to content myself as the result of the season's operations; and fearing that I might not return to continue the excavations as I intended in the autumn, I sowed the banks with the seed of the *Eucalyptus globulosa* (the blue gum tree), closed the doors of my maga-

zines, and suspended the works on the day I have above named, leaving Smyrna May 12th.

My grant for the season had enabled me to employ, on an average, about one hundred workmen, and the excavations, which had been carried on entirely on the site of the Temple, had made fair progress, although so little had as yet been found of the remains of the Temple itself, owing to the numerous difficulties attending the work.

END OF SEASON 1870–71.

CHAPTER III.

1871–72.

First Lecture on Discoveries—Decision of Trustees—Excavations resumed—Sculptured Frieze—Sculptured Column—Cella-wall of Temple—Impression of Cella-walls on Foundation-piers—Remains of more than one Temple—Water in Excavations—Rain—H.M.S. 'Caledonia'—Removal of Antiquities—Amusements at Ephesus—Turkish Workmen and Man-of-War's Men—Sappers—Visitors—Another Capital—Damming—Base of Column—Officers and Men of the 'Caledonia'—Aurora Borealis—Amount of Work done—Strata of Excavation—Storks—Number of Workmen—The 'Times'—Arrest of Kiourt Men—Miscellaneous Antiquities—The Duke and Duchess of Mecklenburg-Schwerin—Suspense—Prince Frederic Charles—Monseigneur Spaccapietra—Sawing Marbles—Suspension of Works—Samos—Tighani—Brigands—Inspection of Antiquities—Waiting for Firman—Appreciation of Coins—Museum at Constantinople—Leave for England—The Sacred Clog.

First lecture on discoveries.

JULY 20th, 1871, I delivered my first lecture in London on my discoveries at Ephesus, before a small but select audience, in the lecture-room of the Society for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts, at 9, Conduit Street, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the President of the Society, being in the chair.

At that time the excavations were not sufficiently advanced to enable me to illustrate my lecture with a correct plan of the Temple. I confined myself, therefore, to a narrative of the manner in which the Temple

had been found, and to the discoveries made in the theatres and other public buildings, as well as on the road from the city to the Temple.

A discussion of great interest afterwards took place, in which Mr. Newton, Professor Donaldson, Mr. Penrose, Mr. Hyde Clarke, and others took part.

Decision of the trustees.

The Trustees of the British Museum declared their satisfaction with the progress made during the past season, and resolved to continue the excavations. We therefore left London August 17th, and arrived in Smyrna on the 31st.

Excavations resumed.

I got together as large a gang of men as I could, and resumed work at Ephesus September 5th. When the vegetation which had grown all over the excavations had been removed, I found, much to my disappointment, that the water was still standing many feet above the pavement. The weather was oppressively hot, and the workmen at first made little progress, as they had not yet recovered from the relaxing effect of a hot summer. As I was anxious to find any remains of the steps which might still exist, I began digging a wide trench near the column of the peristyle which had been found in position; but not a vestige of them remained here. From the destruction to which the others were doomed the column seems to have been preserved by the river, which had evidently run against it, if we may judge from the fine sand deposited all around it. Although I did not succeed in finding any portion of the steps, or even the masonry which had supported them near the column, I found a large patch of the pavement beyond

them, and thus ascertained that the height from the pavement beyond the steps to that of the peristyle was 9 feet 5½ inches.

Sculptured frieze.

September 14.—Found part of the frieze of the west front of the Temple, on which is sculptured what might probably have been intended to represent the taking of the girdle of Hippolyte, queen of the Amazons, by Hercules. The figure of Hercules is almost entirely chopped away; there remain, however, portions of one thigh and arm, and of the lion's skin in which he was partly enveloped. The female figure is more perfect. A portion of the enriched bed mould of the cornice forms part of this block, while some markings on the top seem to show that it was originally the drum of a column from a more ancient temple. The heads of the figures of the frieze appear to have passed up to the underside of the corona of the cornice.[1] This block is now in the Elgin Room, and has been modestly described by Mr. Newton as a female struggling with Hercules. This was a most valuable and interesting discovery, as it proved that the frieze was sculptured in high relief.

Sculptured column.

September 19, a still more important discovery was made, namely, the large sculptured drum of a column from one of the 'columnæ cælatæ' described by Pliny.

In a little more than the semi-circumference of this drum are remains of five of the figures which surrounded it. Two of them are male, three female. The most perfect of the male figures may be recognised as Hermes

[1] See plate.

PART OF SCULPTURED FRIEZE_TEMPLE OF DIANA.

M & N. HANHART LITH

(Mercury) by the caduceus in his right hand, and the petasus hanging from his neck behind; the chlamys is twisted round his left arm. The female figures were probably goddesses, but they are so mutilated that it is impossible to conjecture which of them were here represented.

This immense mass of marble, measuring exactly 6 feet high, a little more than 6 feet in diameter, and weighing more than eleven tons, was found deeply buried in the sand and marble chippings at the west end of the Temple, and was almost entirely under water. As it was, moreover, turned completely over, with its base uppermost, it was a very difficult task to raise it out of the water in the first place; we had to use our pump vigorously to keep the water down sufficiently to allow the men who worked the levers to approach the work, and as the sculptured parts were on the underside of the marble as it lay, it was extremely difficult to avoid injuring the drapery of the figures. By degrees the drum was turned over until it rested upon its proper base. It then became easier to insert one by one the stout timbers upon which it was to be placed before it could be moved up out of the water. Little by little the immense block was lifted to a higher level, the timbers being then placed under it, by means of a strong crab winch and pulleys. An attempt was made to draw it up clear of the hole in which it had lain buried for so many centuries, but the strength of the winch and the men who worked it broke the ropes. Having obtained stronger ropes, on October 7 we began again to haul up the big drum after having got

it on to a strong sledge. We had not moved it many yards when a road, partly made for the purpose, gave way under the weight, and we had great difficulty in avoiding a catastrophe; but we repaired the road, and on November 15 the huge block safely reached the top, nearly two months after its discovery, ready for the photographer, who came out the next day to take a view of it. It was then secured from harm by planks until the crew of one of her Majesty's ships should come and move it on to the railway station. Memo. in Journal: 'It took fifteen men fifteen days to haul up the big sculptured drum. Forty paces from hole and out of water to commencement of road to top. Sixty paces up road to top. Ninety paces on level towards Ayasalouk.' This will give some idea of the expense of moving these large masses of marble from the place where they are found to our Museum in London. The case alone in which it was placed cost upwards of 30*l.*

Cella-wall of Temple.

I discovered early this season a portion of the cella-wall of the Temple on the south side, also some more of the foundation-piers of a church or other large building, which were composed of rubble masonry, and had been commenced within the cella-walls some centuries after the destruction of the Temple. On these piers could be clearly traced the impression of the stones of the cella-walls to the height of four courses. I eventually found the whole of these foundation-piers, to the number of eighteen, with the impression of the cella-walls upon them, and this enabled me to obtain the exact width of the cella, with other particulars for the completion of my plan. The water

Impression of cella-walls.

continued to sink in the excavations, and I was able, before the close of the year, to remove the six feet of débris which had been left above the pavement when the works had been suspended in May. In doing this, the masonry which originally supported the steps was, to a great extent, laid bare. This masonry was composed of layers of grey limestone a little more than 8 inches thick, which, as I have since ascertained, was the height of each step of the platform. Large patches of the pavement of one of the former temples (the last but two, as I afterwards ascertained) were exposed to view, and on the pavement rested such remains of the columns and other portions of the Temple as had not been used for building-stones or burnt for lime. A few fragments of the various enriched mouldings of the cornice were found amongst the débris. Many of these had distinct traces of colour upon them, while some had evidently belonged to one of the earlier temples.

Remains of more than one temple.

November 17.—The water had sunk to a level which enabled us to explore down to the pavement; but rain threatened to give us only a brief opportunity for digging deep.

Water in excavation.

During the month of December the wind was so high that for the whole of one day the men could not work. On the 12th there was water on the pavement at the excavations to the height of one foot.

December 19.—Another large fragment of a sculptured drum was found, with remains of male figures in Persian costume. One or two small fragments of this drum had been found before when the site of the Temple

was first discovered. These fragments, now reunited, form an interesting object in the British Museum.

Rain.

The rain continued to impede the works, and towards the end of the month the water had risen to the height of 20 inches above the lower pavement.

H.M.S. 'Caledonia.'

On the 28th H.M.S. 'Caledonia,' Captain Lambert, arrived in the port of Smyrna. This ship had been sent from Malta in reply to my application for a ship of war to take away the stones and cases which might be ready for shipment.

Part of the last working day of the year was spent on board the 'Caledonia,' making arrangements with Captain Lambert for the assistance of a certain number of his officers and crew at Ephesus.

January 3, 1872.—Lieutenant M'Quhae, with twenty sailors, four carpenters, a sick-bed attendant, and a ward-room cook's mate, accompanied by Dr. Farr, came out to Ephesus, and joined Lieutenant Gambier, who had preceded them the previous day.

The officers found quarters in the station-master's house. The men were accommodated in the large room of our house, where the men of H.M.S. 'Terrible' had made themselves so comfortable on a former occasion.

Removal of antiquities.

The sailors began their work by drawing some of the smaller stones from the excavations to the railway station at Ayasalouk. A large devil-cart had been lent by the authorities at Malta for the removal of heavy stones, but it was found impracticable for very bulky stones, which, on account of their large dimensions in every

VIEW OF EXCAVATION ON SITE

IPLE, LOOKING EAST_DECEMBER 1871.

M&NHANHART LITH

VIEW OF EXCAVATION ON SITE C

LE, LOOKING WEST. DECEMBER 1871.

M&N.HANHART LITH

direction, could not be slung beneath the axle of the cart. It was, however, found very useful afterwards in transporting heavy flat stones from the ruins.

A strong sledge, chiefly used for taking the stones, conveyed the large sculptured drum slowly but safely to the station. The sailors took to their work most kindly; the officers enjoyed their duties ashore, which were occasionally lightened by shooting and boar-hunting during the day, and whist in the evening. Whist at Ephesus! It must sound like a desecration of holy ground in the ears of those who have never seen the place. For ourselves, we were accustomed to it, and enjoyed a rubber occasionally with our visitors.

Amusements at Ephesus.

Among the blocks moved by the crew of the 'Caledonia' was one of the five capitals now in the British Museum.

In using the sledge, it was found to be an excellent plan to employ about ten Turks with twenty sailors, and these together made up the number needed to draw the sledge when heavily laden. Large rollers, nine or ten inches in diameter, were employed for the purpose, and each of these required two men to move them forward as they fell loose behind the sledge.

Turks and sailors.

The devil-cart was used to bring the colossal statue of a Persian found in the ruins of the city to the station at Ayasalouk. When the cart arrived at the lower village with the statue slung to the axle, it appeared as if one of the numerous Turkish tombstones which still remain in the street must be removed to allow the cart to pass. I was sent for to be consulted as to the course to be pur-

sued, and when I came to the spot I found the Custom-house officer and all the petty Turkish officials of the place assembled to protest against the desecration of the tombstones. I found it useless to reason with them, and to promise that if we removed one of them for a minute only it should be set up again in a firmer and more upright position. They continued to protest against its removal, and we arranged the ground for the cart and its load to pass over the tombstone without touching it.

Sappers.

As I had applied for some sappers from the corps of the Royal Engineers, three non-commissioned officers arrived at Ephesus January 9th for the purpose of assisting me in the excavations. This was the 'party of Royal Engineers' stated by the journals of the day as having been sent to Ephesus to assist the explorer! I had had no notice of their coming, and they came with the idea, founded, as they said, on their instructions before they left England, that all the necessary accommodation would be found ready for them on their arrival. Disappointment at finding themselves in a strange place without quarters ready to receive them caused the chief of the party to lose his temper, and the result was an amount of impertinence which did not encourage me to interest myself about them. As night closed in, however, I found rooms for them in the ever-expanding house of the station-master, and I gave them what I could spare of my own bedding and stores. But two of the party never settled down to work and discipline, and I therefore obtained leave to send them back by the 'Caledonia' when she left Smyrna. The third sapper,

who was the junior of the party, Corporal Trotman, remained with me not only for that season, but for the two successive seasons, and only left when the excavations were abandoned.

January 10th Mr. Newton again paid me a visit. He had come in the Duke of St. Albans' yacht to Scala Nova, and had journeyed on to Ayasalouk, leaving the Duke and his party to follow the next day. Visitors.

January 11th the Duke of St. Albans and his party came over to Ayasalouk from Scala Nova, drenched to the skin by the rain. The water from the adjoining fields ran into and completely engulfed the excavations; and a vast muddy lake, with a few stones just seen above its surface, greeted His Grace and his companions when they visited the excavations.

Mr. Newton kindly assisted me most materially by making arrangements in Smyrna for the reception of the cases of antiquities on board ship as they came down by railway, also in forwarding to Ephesus from time to time the implements which might be needed for the works. He found the change from life in London most delightful, and he remained with us as long as he could, taking a deep interest in the work.

January 17.—Another large capital, found at the east end of the excavations, was more perfect than those found at the west end, having the bead and reel moulding, and the upper flutings of the shaft of the column to which it belonged worked upon the same block of marble; one volute was nearly perfect, and the large eggs (twelve inches deep) were quite perfect. The work of destruction Another capital.

had been commenced by ruthlessly chopping off the beautiful egg and spear enrichment which surrounded the abacus. The whole, however, with all its defects, forms a noble specimen of Greek art, and may now be seen on a pedestal in the most remote corner at the north end of the Elgin Gallery.

Damming.

As the water stood this season so high in the excavations, I had recourse to damming, in which I found my Sapper Corporal Trotman most useful. In this manner, with the aid of a powerful pump, we examined the ground at the west end nearly down to the level of the pavement.

Base of column.

Fearing that some calamity might befall the base of the column found in position, I caused the stones to be removed as far down as the plinth stone, and in so doing I discovered that although dowel holes had been made in every one of the stones, not a single dowel had been used. I was, therefore, no longer surprised at the displacement of the base when the column fell. The fine capital which I have already mentioned had evidently belonged to this column, which had fallen from the outer row inward, but diagonally, towards the cella-walls, some of the drums of the column remaining nearly in the position in which they had fallen. I was thus enabled to trace the direction in which the column fell, as well as the connection between the base and the capital.

The capital became an object of great interest at the railway station to the numerous travellers, most of whom had never before seen a work of art in their lives; and even the Turks appeared now to understand the purpose of the excavations.

IONIC CAPITAL, — TEMPLE OF DIANA.

February 1st the 'Caledonia' left Smyrna with its valuable freight. The large sculptured drum had been carefully cased up, and being, like some of the other blocks, too large for the hatchways of the ship, it remained with them on the deck securely lashed.

Messrs. Dussaud, contractors for the Smyrna quay, had most kindly lent us their powerful steam crane to hoist the big drum on board the 'Caledonia,' which was done to the music of fifes. On reaching England it required twenty powerful dray horses to move it from the docks to the British Museum.

Officers and men of H.M.S. 'Caledonia.'

The officers and men from the ship had spent twenty-seven days at Ephesus, and left it with regret. Captain Lambert took especial care in his choice of the officers appointed to take charge of the expedition from the ship. Lieutenants Gambier and M^c^Quhae conducted the work at Ephesus with all the skill that was required, and they were cheerful and pleasant companions during the time they remained with us. The men had had more liberty than had been allowed by the officer of the 'Terrible.' The Caledonians were allowed to spend their evenings at the refreshment room of the station and the cafés at Ayasalouk, but they were bound to turn in by ten o'clock, and the 'rounds' were always punctually made at that hour by their two officers. The men behaved thoroughly well, and did their work willingly and cheerfully. All the men had 'check' (extra pay) for the time during which they were employed ashore.

February 3rd Mr. Newton left Smyrna; and as the officers and men of the 'Caledonia' had departed when

we next went out to Ayasalouk, it seemed quite dull and lonely without them. But we soon became reconciled to our quiet life again, as we all had plenty of work to do.

Aurora Borealis.

February 4.—The Aurora Borealis was distinctly seen at Smyrna, and alarmed the Turks very much, as all natural phenomena invariably do. In this case they thought the earth was about to be destroyed by fire.

The water in the excavations stood as high as 4 feet 6½ inches above the pavement on February 8th.

Amount of work done.

February 10th, I reported to the Trustees that I had cleared out 38,500 cubic yards from the site of the Temple, at a total cost of about 4,000*l*. This was about one-third of the amount of work which, according to my estimate, would be needed in order to clear out the whole of the area of the Temple site.

Early in the month of March I endeavoured to make some arrangement with the railway authorities for the removal of the soil from the excavations by tramway; but this plan I was obliged to abandon on account of its costliness, and we continued to use a number of wheelbarrows, some six of which could be served by one digger. The digging was chiefly in sand, which we found under 4 feet of vegetable soil to the depth of about 12 feet, the remainder being composed chiefly of débris and sand. Over a great portion of the surface we found a Turkish pavement about 4 feet under ground, composed of rather large irregular blocks of stone, which gave us great trouble, as men with back-boards were obliged to carry them to a distance. About 8 feet below the surface we found a

Strata of excavation.

quantity of Arabian pottery, a group of which is given in woodcut, page 201.

Storks.

March 4.—The storks return with great regularity to build their nests and establish themselves for the summer months at Ayasalouk. The first stork of the season is recorded to have appeared this day. A few days after, the storks came in force, and occupied all the aqueduct piers.

Number of workmen.

About one hundred and fifty men were employed on the works this season, my grant being limited to a fixed amount which did not admit of employing a greater number.

The 'Times.'

As it was no longer considered necessary to keep our operations secret from the general public, I sent a short account of my discoveries to the 'Times.' The public thus knew for the first time the difficulties which had been surmounted, and the success which had thus far attended the explorations at Ephesus.

Arrest of Kiourt men.

This season we had quite a plague of Kiourt men, many of whom I refused to employ, but they remained hanging about Ayasalouk, and did their best, by persuasions and threatenings, to induce some of the workmen to gamble at night. A man had one night consented, but refused the next night. The Kiourt men, highly angered, fell upon him, and, beating him unmercifully with sticks, left him, fearing they had killed him. My cavasses came to my house the same night and reported the affair to me, adding that the head of the police was incapably drunk, while his two men did not care to interfere. So there was nothing to be done but to act the special constable, as I had done before.

Getting my cavasses together, and summoning my sapper (I had only one at that time), we proceeded to the cafés in the lower village, and, after a visit to the poor beaten man to ascertain the nature of his injuries, I left the sapper to apply the remedies needed for a broken head, and proceeded with the four cavasses to the room where the fifteen ruffians were said to have taken refuge. This room was pointed out by one of the workmen who gallantly volunteered to show the way. As I thought that my rushing in with four armed men at my back might bring about a serious fight, I halted my men outside, and went in quietly with only one of the cavasses (my faithful Edrise). Ten men were assembled, four or five of whom had been concerned in the assault. When I entered they were seated around a large wood fire, but jumped to their feet immediately. I took the precaution of getting within the circle, when, with my back to the fire, I could face them all, and stop all attempt to escape, and defend myself at the same time if necessary. I then proceeded to take down all the men's names. While I was doing this, a knife was passed from one man to another, but no attempt was made to resist, although I had to take a knife from a man who, a few days before, had tacitly threatened me, by standing in my path where the lane was narrow and lonely, and idly lopping off twigs from the bushes in the hedge. This was one of the worst of the Kiourt men, and he and four others of the men then present were denounced by my guide as having taken part in the assault. These men I thereupon arrested,

and handed them over to the care of the police. Going after this into an adjoining house, I found another of these ruffians hiding in a corner. I thus managed to secure six of the fifteen men who were concerned in the affair, and I was afterwards told that if the man so cruelly treated had died during the night, the remainder of the Kiourt men had planned the rescue of the prisoners. Fortunately he survived, and a short imprisonment was

Group of Arabian Pottery.

the only punishment inflicted on the men captured; but I insisted upon their being afterwards sent away from Ayasalouk, and I discharged nearly all the Kiourts who were then in my employment. Thus ended an affair which might have been a very serious one for myself or my people. As it was, it did good, as my men saw that I would not allow them to be maltreated with impunity to their tormentors.

Amongst other annoyances at Ayasalouk, the village

was for a long time plagued with a mad youth who always became unusually excited on seeing a European, and whenever he met me he used to threaten violence. Very mad people are allowed in Turkey to roam about at pleasure. I once or twice met a full-grown man in the bazaars in Smyrna completely naked, and no one attempted to interfere with him.

When the photographs of the Excavations were being taken, Edrise took his stand in two places; when I showed him the result of his vanity, he was horrified to see himself figuring twice in the same picture.[1]

Miscellaneous antiquities.

With all the vigilance of my superintendents at the excavations, small objects, such as gold or silver coins or jewellery, could be easily stolen by the men. I could never therefore ascertain whether there was much found. I put my most trustworthy men in the lower part of the excavation, where small objects of value were most likely to be found, but from first to last I only secured one gold coin. This was handed to me by a man who was grievously wounded in a pitched battle (which I shall have occasion to notice hereafter), and who had reason to be grateful for the care taken of him till his wound healed. This was a coin of Pope John XXII. A gold bracelet was recovered from the man who had found it, and who could not conceal the fact of its discovery from his fellow-workmen, one of whom informed against him. He was accordingly obliged to give up his treasure. I have reason to believe that small articles of value were occasionally found in the

[1] In the lithograph the second figure of this cavass has been omitted.

excavations, as men from time to time left the works suddenly, and, after a visit to Smyrna, returned without being able to give a satisfactory account of their absence. But I could do nothing to prevent these robberies (if they ever really took place), and to adopt the plan which has sometimes been suggested by visitors and others, of offering a premium or payment for any coins or small objects of value, would have been productive of very bad results. The men would have examined carefully every handful of sand; and if they did not throw it up quickly enough to supply the barrows, their excuse would have been that they were examining it in search of coins, &c. Again, a man disinclined to work would have found a ready excuse for idleness, for when he squatted down in the favourite position of the natives of Turkey, he might pretend that he was searching for coins; while others might produce some of the innumerable ancient coins procurable at Smyrna and elsewhere, and, declaring they had found them in the excavations, claim their reward. All this would have impeded the works most lamentably, whereas it was most important that, with the means placed at my disposal, I should clear out as many thousand cubic yards as possible, so as to open up whatever large stones of the Temple might remain scattered over the whole site. At the same time there was a good chance of finding any small objects, for every shovelful of earth thrown up passed under the eyes of two superintendents, besides those of at least three workmen, and in cases where the earth was thrown up, as it often was in several steppings, so many more workmen

had a chance of seeing anything that ought to be saved from the spoil banks; there was the further chance of finding things by examining the spoil banks themselves every day, and always after rain. I have even been asked if I *sifted* the sand in search of coins and other small objects. If I had attempted any of these cunning contrivances, I could not possibly have employed one-tenth of the number of men that I did, and I should not therefore have cleared one-tenth of the site. Consequently we should never have discovered even the few blocks of marble which, with the particulars ascertained on the site, have finally enabled me to make a plan and other drawings of the Temple. Nor should we have discovered the sculptured drums of columns and the antiquities which now enrich the collection in the British Museum, and which are more than an ample equivalent for the money expended on the excavations.

The Duke and Duchess of Mecklenburg-Schwerin.

One pleasant day, March 30, was spent at Ephesus with their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. I accompanied them and their suite to the Temple and round the ruins; they were escorted with the same force of cavalry and infantry that had been told off for the protection of the Duke of Sutherland. The Pasha of Smyrna sent not only horses to mount the whole party, but also two tents and a liberal luncheon, which was served in the tents pitched on the high ground near the Stadium.

By the end of March I had cleared out nearly 44,000 cubic yards, and had exposed to view a considerable portion of the remains of the Temple in position, besides

finding a number of loose stones, which gave me good hope of securing a much greater number than was ultimately found. Enough had been found to justify great expectations, and I therefore applied to the Trustees for a grant of money sufficient to enable me to clear out the whole of the Temple site. My estimate for this work was 6,000*l.* While the expediency of applying to the Treasury for the required grant was being considered by the Trustees, I was kept in great suspense; the Ottoman Government had issued a circular declaring that they would grant no more firmans for excavations, but would undertake them themselves. The Trustees, believing they would not renew my firman for another year, were disinclined to risk further expenditure, and ordered the works to be discontinued at the end of the month, or until the firman should be renewed.

Suspense.

April 8th Prince Frederic Charles of Prussia, the 'Red Prince,' as he was called during the Franco-German war, came out to Ephesus with his suite, escorted, not by the 'armies' that had accompanied other great people, but by only six or eight horsemen. I had the honour of escorting him and his party over the excavations of the Temple. He was very careful to understand all that was pointed out to him, attentively listening to all I had to tell him, which he kindly repeated in German to those of his suite who did not understand English.

Prince Frederic Charles.

April 24.—The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Smyrna, Monsignor Spaccapietra, came to Ayasalouk with about sixty of his congregation, and performed high mass again in the mosque, having his high altar placed

Monsignor Spaccapietra.

in an archway in the eastern wall. Monsignor Spaccapietra will be remembered as having taken a prominent part in the recent Council of the Vatican.

Sawing marble.

During the month of April I received from England some saws, of which I at once proceeded to make the best use I could, by sawing off slabs from bulky stones which would have cost much to send as they were. I thus secured all that was worth sending, and considerably reduced the cost of their transport to England both in the number and sizes of the cases, and the amount of freight.

The water stood this month about 7 feet above the pavement, but sank a little towards the end of the month.

As the excavations proceeded, we reopened many deep holes which I had sunk on the site of the Temple several years before its discovery. These happened to be in places where there were no remains discovered to indicate the site of any building, and they had been refilled that the land might be cultivated.

Suspension of works.

In accordance with instructions from the Trustees, I suspended the excavations on the 28th of April, paying off all my men.

Samos.

As it was still early in the year, and the great heat had not yet set in, I visited Samos, accompanied by my friend, Mr. William Forbes; and I had thus an opportunity of comparing the columns of the Temple of Hera (Juno) and their bases with those of the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus. The comparison proved very much in favour of the latter, those of the Temple at Samos not being fluted, and the bases being inelegant and unrefined in detail.

It would not cost a great deal to lay bare this Temple, as it is buried to the depth of a few feet only.

A great portion of the walling of the neighbouring town of Tighani still exists above ground, but I saw no remains of buildings, though many might perhaps be found below the present surface. Tighani.

We had the greatest difficulty in getting back to Scala Nova from Vathe, the chief town of Samos, there being no wind to fill our sails, and thus the sun had set before we arrived. We had had such dire experience of the liveliness and plentifulness of the insects of prey which abound there, that we determined to return to Ayasalouk that night, in spite of the reputed danger of the road, and my own fears that, as it was well known at Ayasalouk whither I had gone and when I was expected to return, I might be waylaid, either for ransom or from revenge for my imprisonment of the Kiourt men. Brigands. We had two cavasses with us, and we all determined to resist. I gave the cavasses orders to do so in the hearing of all the people who lounged near the door of the khan, where we were joined without invitation by two men whom we did not know, but who professed to be connected with the Post. These men took the lead on our leaving the town. When we approached the café near the mountain, the guard was missing, and this was considered suspicious, as these men are suspected, whether guilty or not, of taking part with the brigands. A deep silence pervaded our whole party of six persons as we proceeded over the mountain. My revolver was in my coat-pocket firmly clutched by

my right hand, my finger ready on the least alarm to be placed upon the trigger. As we approached the most dangerous part of the road, not a word was uttered, and everyone's breath appeared to be suspended, when one of our voluntary leaders took the cigarette from his mouth, whirled it round his head several times, and rode into the bushes. Both my companion and myself expected that moment to be attacked, thinking this action must have been a signal for the robbers to attack. But he reappeared alone, and rode on as before at our head. The bushes were passed, but the attack expected and prepared for never took place. The signalling, as it undoubtedly was, was repeated a little further on, and not till the open country beyond was gained did we again breathe freely.

Inspection of antiquities.

Before we left for England, the Turkish Commissioner came out to Ayasalouk, and inspected the cases of antiquities which I had packed for the Museum. They were now fastened down and sealed with his seal, in case the threatened intentions of the Turkish Government respecting excavations should be carried out.[1]

Waiting for a firman.

May 11.—We left Smyrna for England, touching at Constantinople, where we were detained till June 1. I remained there all that time, in the hope of obtaining the renewal of my firman for another year, and bringing the document itself away with me.

Sir Henry Elliot, H.B.M.'s Ambassador, did all he could to persuade the Turkish authorities to grant the

[1] When I afterwards wished to send these cases to England a new commissioner had been appointed, and he would not allow them to pass, without breaking the seals of his predecessor, and examining their contents.

renewal without further delay, his chief plea with them being that, as the firman was granted, in the first instance, for the purpose of finding the Temple of Artemis, and securing what remained of it for the British Museum, this object could not be fully accomplished unless the renewal was granted from year to year till the completion of the work. While I was waiting at Constantinople for the decision of the Porte, a box containing 2,004 of the coins which I had found on the site of the Temple arrived from the British Museum for presentation to the Ottoman Government. The Trustees, having reserved a certain number selected for the Museum, had forwarded the duplicates to the Turkish authorities. Sir Henry Elliot thought it would be well for me to present this box myself to Server Pasha, the Minister for Foreign Affairs at that time, as it might give me an opportunity of conciliating his Excellency, and of urging the immediate renewal of my firman. I accordingly waited upon Server Pasha, accompanied by Mr. Etienne Pisani, the chief dragoman from the embassy, and presented the box in due form. The Minister ordered an attendant to get the box opened, and when it was brought in again it was found to contain a number of small bags of coins neatly labelled with their number and names. There were also some lumps of white metal which were found with them, looking very much like pure silver. I offered to open some of the bags and explain the different coins, but Server Pasha said it was of no consequence, and proposed that we should replace the bags. Then turning to a Turkish

Appreciation of coins.

gentleman who was present, and who was probably some one of consequence, he asked him if he would give 'five paras' (one farthing) for the whole of the contents of the box, at which the other shrugged his shoulders and said, 'Decidedly not.' Server Pasha then said he should immediately send the box to Ahmet Vefik Effendi, the Minister of Public Instruction. After urging my suit for the renewal of my firman, and receiving assurances which might have been very encouraging to anyone who had no knowledge of Turkish diplomacy, I left the Foreign Minister's cabinet, feeling that I had made little or no progress in obtaining my wants.

The next day I went to the Tribunal of Commerce to see Ahmet Vefik Effendi, armed with a letter of introduction from Sir Henry Elliot. I fully expected a favourable reception, or at least a courteous one, having been told that this Minister was an enlightened man, and was well suited for his office. I also thought I should be well received, because I believed the coins had been sent to him, as promised the day before by Server Pasha. With this idea I began by asking him whether he did not find the coins highly interesting. He soon stopped me, saying he had seen nothing of them—that, instead of taking them to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, I should have brought them direct to him. He was the proper person to receive things of that kind; the Foreign Minister had nothing to do with them. As it was, it would perhaps be 'three years' before he saw anything of them, and as for my firman, he should do nothing to assist me until he had the coins in his possession, which

was not likely to happen soon. I could not, however, better employ my time than in urging Server Pasha to send the coins on to him. All this he addressed to me in an angry impatient voice, and I had much difficulty in refraining from making a hasty reply; but I succeeded in controlling my tongue, though I could not conquer my temper, and, simply asking him for a permission to visit the museum, for which he introduced me to another official, I left the worthy man to cool down from his angry fit as he best could. The gentleman to whom he had introduced me acted with more courtesy, and, sending for the Curator of the museum, a young *protégé* of Baron Prokesch, he requested him to accompany me. The chief object of my visit was to ascertain what had been done with the statue of Venus found in the great theatre at Ephesus, a female head, and some other sculpture which had been ceded to the Turkish Government by the Trustees.

Museum at Constantinople.

I found, on visiting the museum at Constantinople, that this statuary, with some other objects which had been sent from England, had been placed in a sort of store-room, in which they were locked up. The Venus had been injured by having a large splinter of marble displaced from the thigh, and this fragment was lying by the side of the statue. I asked the Curator why he did not get the piece replaced. His answer was that he had no funds, not even the few piastres for the gypsum needed for the repair of statuary. As for the head, it was placed on the ground where no one could possibly see its beauty, and where it was liable to be knocked over and broken to pieces.

In spite of all this carelessness and non-appreciation of antiquities, the Curator spoke with great bitterness of my digging up 'such a number of beautiful things,' and sending them all to England, assuring me that I should not obtain the renewal of my firman for another year. His anger was intensified when I expressed my certitude of obtaining all that I wanted, not only for that year, but for any number of years successively, adding that it was a very small return for the Turks to make for the English blood spilt in their cause, which I fervently hoped would never be so wasted again.

Three or four days after I had had my interview with Server Pasha, I went a second time to see Ahmet Vefik Effendi; but the coins had not arrived, and, a few more days having been spent in doing all I could, with the aid of Mr. Pisani, to obtain my firman, I was assured by Sir Henry Elliot that I could not do better than leave the matter in his hands. We therefore left Constantinople for England June 1st.

Leave for England.

The sacred clog.

During our stay at Constantinople, all the Turkish world went to see the sacred clog of Mahomet, which had been brought in the same vessel with us from Smyrna. The day which we chose for seeing the treasury happened unfortunately to be the one appointed for the ladies of the Sultan's harem and other ladies to see the clog. The gates of the treasury were therefore closed against us, and not even a silver or golden key would open them.

END OF SEASON 1871–72.

CHAPTER IV.

1872–73.

Mr. Lowe's Grant of £6,000—Excavations resumed—Sculptured Frieze—Disappointed of Workmen—Cella-walls—Effects of an Earthquake—Columns and their Foundations—Corinthian Capital—Marcus Aurelius—Lack of Workmen—Third Sculptured Drum—Supply of Bread—Hindrances—Inscriptions—Sculptured Drum—Sculpture—Lions' Heads—Work done—Roman Pavement—Disappointment—Sickness—Yourooks—Imprisonment of Men—Courban Bairam—The Temple was Octastyle—Inscription—Bas-relief—Skulking—Gunboat—Narrow Escape—Fourth Sculptured Drum—The Weather—Water—Sculpture &c. ready for Export—The 'Antelope'—Mr. Newton—H.M.S. 'Ariadne'—Cases &c. shipped—Greek and Latin Inscriptions—H.M.S. 'Swiftsure'—Crew at Ephesus—Cost of Excavation—Columnæ Cælatæ—Valuable Cargo of 'Swiftsure'—Jews and Greeks—Water in the Excavations—Arabs—Food of the Workmen—Strength of the Turks—Characteristics of Workmen, Arabs, Turks, and Greeks—Fight between Turks and Greeks—Imprisonment of Workmen—Workmen leaving—General Lord Henry Percy, G.C.B., V.C.—Excavations suspended—Contracts with Sapper.

THE first few weeks in England were employed, with the assistance of Mr. Newton, in providing against the difficulties which might possibly arise from the non-renewal of my firman, and the consequent want of funds for the continuance of the excavations, as it was unlikely that the Treasury would authorise a grant without the firman. We did all we could to interest the public in case we might have to appeal to them for assistance; but

ultimately Sir Henry Elliot obtained the authority required on the original favourable terms, and an application was made to Mr. Lowe, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, for a sum of money sufficient to clear out the whole of the Temple site. Mr. Lowe, interested as a great classical scholar in the completion of the enterprise, unhesitatingly granted the 6,000*l.* asked for, with the unanimous consent of the House of Commons. Meanwhile my health gave way, and when the time came which I had appointed for returning to Smyrna I was unable to do so. I therefore sent instructions to Sergeant M^cKim, the sapper who had been sent out in the month of August with Corporal Trotman to act under my directions at the excavations. The works were accordingly recommenced on August 29, by sinking such portions of the ground as had not been excavated up to that time to within 6 feet of the pavement, the remainder being left till I should arrive.

Mr. Lowe's grant of 6,000*l.*

Excavations resumed.

When at length I was able to leave England, my son accompanied us for the season 1872–73 as my assistant, this appointment having been made by the Trustees in kind consideration of my health. We left England September 18th, and reached Smyrna on the 24th, making an unusually quick passage from Marseilles. I found Sergeant M^cKim in the British Hospital ill with fever; happily he was recovering, and was able to go out to Ephesus a day or two after our arrival. For the first three days I was far too weak to go out to Ephesus, but on the 30th I took advantage of a special train which had been engaged by General Adie, and visited the works. I found that

PART OF SCULPTURED FRIEZE _TEMPLE OF DIANA.

NORTH WEST ANGLE.

M & N HANHART LITH.

PART OF SCULPTURED FRIEZE _TEMPLE OF DIANA.
NORTH WEST ANGLE

M & N HANHART LITH

everything was going on well under the superintendence of the two sappers and Georgy, the Greek ganger, who had been now employed for two seasons in the excavations. In a day or two more I was able to give my usual personal superintendence to the works.

A large area had been sunk to within a few feet of the pavement, as I had directed, and we now began to remove the remainder. Near the western extremity of the Pronaos, on the north side, we soon found two sculptured stones which had formed part of the frieze at the north-west angle of the Temple. This sculpture, which is in high relief, some parts projecting from the surface as much as 13 inches, represents on one face two nude male figures (probably Hercules and Antæus), wrestling. On the other face of the block there had evidently been the figure of Artemis herself with a stag, but almost the whole has been chopped away, nothing being left but the head and neck of the stag. The form of the antlers may be easily traced, although not a vestige of them remains. All the figures are life-size.

Sculptured frieze.

I had the usual difficulty in getting together a sufficient number of workmen, and this season was more than usually unfavourable, scarcely any rain having fallen since the month of May. There had been consequently a great deal of sickness during the summer months, and the men who had suffered had not recovered their strength. I had done all I could to provide workmen against my return, having previously arranged with Ali Khoja to bring 150 men, as he had worked for me for the last two

Disappointed of workmen.

seasons, and had brought with him a hundred men from a district beyond Konia, about fourteen days' journey on foot from Ephesus. The Khoja had left me his address, and I had written to him from England to remind him of our arrangement, and fixing the date for the resumption of the works; but he did not receive my letter till long after it was due, and day after day passed away without our seeing anything of him or his men, until at last, towards the end of October, he made his appearance with only eight men. This default of the Emenekleh men seriously delayed the work.

Cella-walls.

As the excavations proceeded, a considerable portion of the western and southern walls of the cella of the last Temple but two was found in position, the plinth resting on the original pavement, which had been nearly all removed from the interior of the cella. These cella-walls were remarkable for their exquisite finish and the extreme beauty of the marble of which they were built. The arrises were all taken off at an obtuse angle to prevent damage to them by any concussion by earthquake or otherwise, and the joints were as fine as they could be; the fronts of the blocks were frosted.

The small portions that remained of this beautiful walling had been made to do duty as part of the foundations for the walls of the last two Temples, and had been thickened out and strengthened for the purpose by large blocks of limestone, making the foundations of the walls 13 feet thick, the original walling being 6 feet 4 inches thick. A large space was now cleared near the cella, and I could therefore distinctly trace the

effects of an earthquake which passed obliquely across the Temple site at the time when the church was being built. The pavement had been raised in one part nearly five feet above its original level, and with it a large mass of mortar which had been mixed upon it. Three of the foundation-piers had been overthrown, and the walls of the cella had been disturbed. I have no doubt that the building was then abandoned and another site chosen. No brick vaulting was found, and this is a further proof that the church was never finished on its intended site.

Effects of an earthquake.

A great number of the buttress walls between the foundation-piers of the columns of the peristyle and the masonry supporting the steps of the platform were now found on the north side, corresponding in position to those on the south side. The foundation-piers had been nearly all removed ; only one of these remained intact on this side, supporting the base-stones of one of the inner columns of the peristyle ; but these were chipped all around till not a vestige of moulding remained upon them, and only one small fragment of the face of the square plinth could be seen.

Columns and their foundations.

Some of the drums of this column were also found prostrate at a high level, showing that the site had been silted up to the level of the pavement of the peristyle before the column fell. This column had fallen outward.

Near the cella wall was found a Corinthian capital, elliptical on plan, which I presume belonged to the upper tier of columns decorating the interior, and was doubtless of a much more recent date than the remainder of the

A Corinthian capital.

Temple. The lower tier of columns must also have been elliptical, and probably of the Ionic order.

Marcus Aurelius.

The interior of the Temple might have been restored or rebuilt in the time of Marcus Aurelius, whose name with that of his wife Faustina and his daughter Fadilla were found upon the architrave of the west door of the cella, many fragments of which remained where they had fallen.

Lack of workmen.

The difficulty of getting workmen in sufficient numbers continued throughout this season from the causes already mentioned. During many previous years, when I had little or no money to spend, I might have obtained almost any number. Now I had money, but could not get men. There was, however, an improvement in December, and the excavations then proceeded much more rapidly.

Third sculptured drum.

December 31*st.*—The third sculptured drum of a column was found on the north side towards the west end of the excavation. This example is quite different in character from the sculptured drums previously found, in which the extreme projection from the surface did not exceed $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches. In this example the projection is as much as 13 inches. The diameter of this drum is the same as that of the first found, and must therefore have been the lowest drum of the shaft to which it belonged. The disposition of the two figures is also singular; they occupy as much of the circumference of the shaft of the column as four of the figures in the other drums found —that is, nearly the semi-circumference of the shaft. This example was probably from one of the inner columns of the peristyle, where a greater projection of the sculpture was considered necessary. Unfortunately not enough re-

PART OF SCULPTURED DRUM OF COLUMN Nº 3.

mains to show what subject was illustrated by this drum; but although the original beauty of the work is utterly destroyed, we can yet discern the extreme boldness and excellent grouping of the design, which is best seen at a distance of some 20 feet.

Supply of bread.

Amongst the difficulties I had to contend with, one of the greatest was the supply of bread for the men. The Bakal, who often sent coarse and uneatable stuff which the men compared to mud, was at last convicted by the Turkish authorities of giving short weight, and was imprisoned as he deserved to be. On being liberated he was ordered by the Kaimachan of Scala Nova to supply his bread at the rate of seventy paras an oke, full weight. This he declared he could not possibly do, as he had to pay a great deal for the carriage of his flour from Smyrna, and in order to convey the bread to the workmen at the excavations he must keep a horse and extra man for the purpose. He could not therefore supply the bread for less than two piastres an oke, and I applied to our Consul at Smyrna to obtain special leave for the arrangement. My request was granted, and we had no further serious interruption of this kind to complain of.

Hindrances.

Ramazan and Bairam had caused the usual hindrances, the men being too weak for work during the fast, and absent from the works during the feast. The rains had fortunately been delayed this season, and I was able to clear out the earth and débris down to the lower pavement over the whole area which had been prepared during the latter part of the last and the beginning of the present season. The men of Ali Khoja came by

degrees to the number of more than one hundred, but I did not succeed till the end of the year in getting together my full complement of three hundred workmen.

Inscriptions.

Some fragments of Greek inscriptions were found at a low level in the excavations, copies of which are given in the Appendix.[1]

Sculptured drum.

Before the close of the year 1872 one or two more fragments of the sculptured drum, with figures in Persian trousers, were discovered at the west end.

Sculpture.

Here also was found a very fine piece of sculpture, being part of a female arm with the elbow, which belonged probably to one of the statues of colossal dimensions in the tympanum at that end of the Temple.

Lions' heads.

Some fine fragments of lions' heads from the cymatium, or uppermost moulding of the cornice, were found on the pavement.

Work done.

By the end of the year I had removed 70,126 cubic yards from the site of the Temple.

December 31*st*.—Saw the old year out at Ephesus.

Early in the month of January 1873, the water in the excavation had sunk sufficiently low to allow us to lay bare patches of the pavement beyond the steps of the platform.

Roman pavement.

This pavement was Roman, and consisted of square slabs of white marble 3 inches thick laid upon a foundation composed of red cement about 3 inches thick and rubble masonry 21 inches thick. It was probably laid not very long before the destruction of the Temple, as it did not exhibit much wear.

[1] 'Inscriptions from site of Temple.'

I now began to clear away the soil and débris for the distance of 30 feet beyond the lowest step of the platform, where I hoped to find many remains of the Temple. In this, however, I was greatly disappointed, for here we scarcely found a vestige of the building remaining. Disappointment.

Much sickness now prevailed among the men, and I lost the services for a time of seventy or eighty of them. My own health was preserved to a great extent by moderate exercise on foot and on horseback. With my horse I was able to explore the whole of the district within a certain distance of my work without a long absence from it. The Yourook dogs were sometimes troublesome, causing me to dismount and use my whip; but the Yourooks were generally on the watch, and called them off. One evening I was returning with some ladies from an excursion to the sea; we were admiring the great beauty of the scene when we encountered a fierce Yourook dog. Its young mistress, however, called it away, and, putting her foot on the dog's head to keep him down, went on quietly with the knitting which these women always have with them. We were struck with admiration of the group; the girl, the dog, and the black huts at the foot of the mountain beyond, forming a beautiful picture. Sickness. Yourooks.

Four of my men were imprisoned for stealing a lamb. The Mudir refused to liberate them till they had paid seventeen Turkish dollars, most of which our Consul obliged him to return to the men. Imprisonment of men.

The feast of Courban Bairam again took the whole of the men away for several days, after which the Courban Bairam.

majority of them were for a time demoralised and unfit for work.

During the month of January I obtained those particulars relating to the position of the columns at the west end of the Temple which were needed to confirm the

Christian Martyr

The Temple octastyle.

statement of Vitruvius that the Temple was octastyle. Further reference will be made to this in the last chapter of this book.

Inscription.

One of the few inscriptions found on the site of the Temple was discovered this month, also a curious bas-relief in panels representing the combat of a man

SCULPTURED DRUM No 4.

M & N HANHART LITH.

(perhaps a Christian) with a lion. The man is armed with a thick club, but in the third panel he appears to have fallen a victim to the fury of the lion. Bas-relief.

The workmen were now spread over a large area, and it required all the vigilance of the superintendents to keep them from skulking. Skulking.

January 29th.—H.M.S. 'Growler,' Captain Verney, came into the port of Smyrna, and I hoped to be able to put on board some of my cases of antiquities; but the captain told me that a small ship of war like his could not take a cargo, as she was supposed to be sufficiently laden with her guns. Gunboat.

One of my best workmen had a narrow escape from being seriously injured by a fall of earth which he had incautiously left at a slope much too steep for safety. Fortunately he was only slightly bruised, as there were no large stones amongst the sand which fell upon him; but he was unfit for work for some days. Narrow escape.

January 30th.—Two very large blocks of the fourth sculptured drum of a column were found at the eastern end of the Temple, and on the south side. This discovery satisfactorily proved what I had already conjectured, that the 'columnæ cælatæ' of Pliny had adorned both ends of the building. Fourth sculptured drum.

This drum had been planted thickly with half-draped male and female figures, like the first drum, found at the west end. In these two blocks united there are remains of as many as six figures, but they are all so much mutilated (not one head being left) that it is impossible now to understand the subject of the sculpture.

The character of the drapery appears to be inferior to that of the first drum, and the remnants of the figures, where nude, seem to exhibit inferior anatomical treatment. Nevertheless this, like similar fragments afterwards found, is extremely interesting, as having formed part of one of the famous colossal sculptured columns for which the Temple was chiefly remarkable, and adds very materially to the evidence which has been so eagerly sought for since the discovery of the site, as to the peculiar characteristics of the building as a whole.

This drum, like the others, was under water when first found, but as it had been split into two pieces it was hauled up to the top with comparative ease, especially as we now had efficient hauling tackle, and the workmen had learned much by experience. Six days after its discovery, it was landed on the top uninjured.

The weather.

During the month of February the men were employed chiefly at the east end of the Temple; but for some days the works were interrupted by the intense cold. A sharp frost, a cold wind, and ever so little rain, were each sufficient to stop the works. Few of the men had a change of clothes in case they should get wet; so they generally ran for shelter when rain came on.

The weather must have moderated considerably towards the end of the month, for I find that on February 26th the first stork of the season arrived. This does not generally take place till March 6th.

Water.

Before the end of February, the water in the excavation was becoming troublesome, being on the 25th 16½

inches above the pavement, near the base of the column in position, on the north side.

Sculpture &c. ready for export.

I had now in my store room at Ayasalouk between 50 and 60 tons of sculptured stones and inscriptions. I had already applied to the Trustees for a man-of-war to take them on board, and on March 4 H.M.S. 'Antelope,' a despatch boat, which was generally at the disposal of Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, came to Smyrna for the purpose of taking on board all the cases and loose marbles which might be ready.

H.M.S. 'Antelope.'

March 5.—A lieutenant and fifteen of the crew of the 'Antelope' came out to Ephesus to assist in hauling the marbles to the railway station and in packing them in cases.

Mr. Newton.

March 6.—Mr. Newton arrived on a visit to Smyrna and Ephesus. The storks made their appearance in couples this day on the numerous piers of the aqueduct, and on the minarets of the ruined mosques at Ayasalouk.

H.M.S. 'Ariadne.'

There was now expected in Smyrna H.M.S. 'Ariadne.' It became therefore a question whether we should put our heaviest blocks on board the 'Antelope,' or wait for the frigate. It was ultimately decided that we should reserve the big stones for the 'Ariadne' and put our smaller stones and cases on board the 'Antelope,' as she had come expressly for them. The blue jackets and marines of the 'Antelope' were quartered in the lower room of our house, and did their work, like the other crews, cheerily and expeditiously. The 'Antelope' appeared to have an especially fine set of picked men. They soon finished their work, and on March 11 returned to their

Cases &c. shipped.

ship, the name of which they left painted upon the bond timber of the station at Ayasalouk. The 'Antelope' left with twenty-four cases and three loose sculptured blocks.

Greek and Latin inscriptions.

March 14.—Found a group of five inscribed stones about 10 feet below the surface on the north side; two of these were Greek, two Latin, and one Latin and Greek.[1] Near these were found several graves about 8 feet below the surface, with rough sides of marble slab and marble covers.

H.M.S. 'Swiftsure.'

March 18.—H.M.S. 'Swiftsure,' Captain the Hon. W. J. Ward, came to Smyrna for the remainder of the cases and marbles. Mr. Newton was still in Smyrna, but he left on the 22nd.

Crew at Ephesus.

March 24.—Lieutenant Baring, Sub-Lieutenant Neild, and fifteen men of the 'Swiftsure' came out to Ayasalouk to finish the work so well begun by the crew of the 'Antelope.' A force of about 200 men was employed during this month. I found by calculation that the excavations this season had cost since the beginning of January only 15*d.* a cubic yard. This was owing chiefly to the effective superintendence of the two sappers who assisted the Greek ganger. The improved state of my health had also enabled me to attend constantly and watch the works. Some fragments of a sculptured drum were found this month at the east end; but none of the sculpture remained. They were mere splinters, proving only that the drum itself had been 6 feet in height, and that there had been a considerable plain space between the figures, as on that found at the west end on the north side.

Cost of excavations.

'Columnæ cælatæ.'

[1] See Appendix, Inscriptions from site of Temple, Nos. 1 to 5.

The water stood at 4 feet above the pavement at the foot of the steps; but with the aid of the pump we were able to examine, bit by bit, the whole area for 30 feet beyond the lowest step, so as to make sure of getting any large blocks of marble or other antiquities that might remain.

April 2.—I wrote to our Consul at Smyrna asking him to send in the usual request to our Ambassador at Constantinople for the renewal of my firman. As the water was generally high in the excavations during the months of March and April, it was necessary to remove the upper soil, and so prepare ground to be examined in the autumn. For this reason an early application for the necessary authority to export all antiquities found on the same terms as before was deemed advisable. The 'Swiftsure' carried away thirty-one cases and sixteen sculptured blocks, including one of the large capitals and the plinth-stones of the base of the first column found. The officers and men remained at Ephesus till April 9. I must here acknowledge the great kindness of Captain Ward and the efficiency of the officers and men sent to assist me. The 'Swiftsure' remained at Smyrna after she had taken on board all the antiquities from Ephesus, to prevent any uprising of the Greeks against the Jews at Easter. The Greeks believe that the Jews offer Christian blood as a sacrifice, and as Easter approaches there is generally some 'well-authenticated' story of a Greek child having been kidnapped and killed by them. The poor Jews have had for years a warm advocate and defender in Mr. Eppstein, missionary to the Jews at Smyrna, who has done much to protect them from insult and injury at times when it is

Valuable cargo of 'Swiftsure.'

Jews and Greeks.

dangerous for them even to venture into the streets. Last year a Jewish carpenter was employed to do some repairs in a Greek house. When he left one night, he found an infant in his basket, and was charged with the design of stealing it. In spite of his indignant denial he was ill-treated, and was obliged to run for his life. This ill-will towards the Jews is confined to the Greeks. The Turkish authorities generally do all they can to protect them.

This year I was spared the anxiety about money which I had felt in former years. My grant of 6,000*l.* was to be expended during two seasons, and I had not yet spent the 3,000*l.* which I was authorised to devote to the current season. As the money had been granted to continue the excavations for two years, I felt sure my firman would be renewed, though it might require a little pressure from our Government. Apart from this, I had difficulties enough to contend with. The water was rising higher and higher in the excavations as the spring advanced; and it was no easy task to keep the men together in sufficient numbers. Still I determined to carry on the work till the middle of May if possible. The workmen employed on the excavations were now chiefly Turks; but during the last two seasons I employed nearly a hundred Arabs who came to Ephesus with their wives and children and pitched their black camel-hair tents on the low ground near the excavations.

Water in the excavations.

Arabs.

The Turkish workmen came from far-distant parts of Asia Minor as well as from the neighbouring villages. Generally very slow and deliberate in their movements,

GROUP OF WORKMEN WITH THEIR SUPERINTENDENTS.

M&N HANHART LITH

they were remarkably patient and plodding under the strict discipline which I was obliged to enforce ; but great watchfulness was needed on the part of the superintendents to make them do a fair day's work. I had not fewer than seven superintendents over my 300 men.

Some of the best men were remarkably adroit in throwing up the sand, which they would cast up even as high as 12 feet. Their food was of the simplest kind. Coarse bread and a little salt fish or olives, black raisins, and some fruit occasionally, accompanied by copious draughts of the best water they could obtain, constituted their breakfast and dinner. To their supper, as being the most sumptuous meal, some delicacy, such as snail soup, thistle broth, or boiled thistle stalks, dandelion, and other wild vegetables, was often added. With this frugal diet their strength was unusually great, as the fatigues which they endured in spite of the unhealthy climate, and the great weights which they raised in their arms or carried on their backs, sufficiently proved. The Turkish porters in Smyrna often carry from 400 to 600 pounds weight on their backs, and a merchant one day pointed out to me one of his men who, he assured me, had carried an enormous bale of merchandise, weighing 800 pounds, up a steep incline into an upper warehouse.

Food of the workmen.

Strength of the Turks.

The Arab workmen, showing more agility than strength, appeared to take a pride in working more quickly than the Turks. They were exceedingly quarrelsome, and there was always great danger of their coming to blows with the Turks. This was happily prevented more than once by the timely interference of Sergeant M'Kim.

After a short experience of their habits and tempers, we adopted the plan of giving them their work apart from the Turks. Taking advantage of their spirit of competition, my gangers gave each their appointed tasks to be done within a given time. Invariably the first in finishing their work, the Arabs expressed their feelings of exultation and derision by loud cries. This plan answered exceedingly well for a time, but the Turks soon got tired of over-exerting themselves, and gradually settled down again to their deliberate style of working. The Arabs, however, continued to put on a 'spurt' when called upon to do so.

Characteristics of workmen, Arabs, Turks, and Greeks.

The Greek workmen were generally quick and intelligent; but their numerous holidays, all of which they kept most religiously by sitting at the cafés dressed up in their best clothes, made them very undesirable workmen. Latterly I employed only three or four, for the sake of their unusual intelligence and their aptitude for certain portions of the work. On the works a serious fray seldom or never took place; but one which nearly proved fatal to many occurred on Sunday evening, April 13, in the village of Ayasalouk. One of the Turkish workmen, having taken too much raki, was singing in a maudlin way and making a fool of himself as he passed a priest and some other Greeks who were seated outside a café. One of the Greeks very foolishly ridiculed the Turk, who, not too drunk to see and to resent the insult, stopped and cursed the Greeks and their religion. The priest upon this exclaimed, 'Why do you curse my children?' The Turk replied by striking the priest with his stick. All the Greeks, chiefly agricultural

Fight between Turks and Greeks.

labourers from Kirkenjee, then rose up and began to assault the Turk, who laid about him furiously with his stick, and was soon joined by some of his fellow-workmen. Extending from small beginnings, the fight soon became a pitched battle between fifty and sixty Turks and Greeks, armed with sticks and stones. Our sergeant in vain threw himself between the combatants. The men were not on the works as they had been at other times when he had succeeded in stopping a fight; and in this case it was an affair which, according to the sergeant's account, had been 'brewing' for a long time. They now told him to get out of the way if he would avoid being hurt, for they must have it out; so the fight went on. The Turks, being most numerous, drove the Greeks into the barley-fields, and obliged them in the end to take refuge in one or two of their cafés, the door of one of them being kept by the sergeant, who narrowly escaped being hurt. The fight lasted two hours. The station-master, who had gone to Kirkenjee, hearing of it as he approached Ayasalouk, was afraid to return to the station that night. Early in the morning, however, he ventured to enter the station, and telegraphed to Smyrna and Aidin for help. Some of the cafés were broken into and robbed; my house was fortunately respected, although it was deserted by the cavasses who had charge of it.

I received news of the fight only when we arrived at the railway station at Smyrna on Monday morning on our way out. The telegram giving particulars of the disturbance was greatly exaggerated by volunteer informants. A great fight had taken place, they said,

amongst my workmen, and numbers had been killed and wounded, that soldiers had to be sent for from Aidin to prevent further hostilities, &c.

On hearing the news I hesitated about taking Mrs. Wood, and Miss C. Cumberbatch, who intended to accompany us that morning to Ayasalouk. They determined, however, to go, hoping that they might be of some use to the wounded. On arriving at Ayasalouk, we found the rooms at the station occupied by the wounded, the Turks and Greeks having been carefully separated. One poor man, a Turk, had been left on the platform outside with a large splinter in his forehead. We had him removed into our house, and did all we could to soothe him, but we could not withdraw the splinter, as this operation needed a strong arm, great skill, and a powerful forceps. The Greek priest was amongst the most injured, having been bruised from head to foot, and he gave vent to pitiful lamentations over his hard fate. Another sufferer had had three ribs broken ; but as no knives had been used in the fight, there was no loss of life. About twenty men were more or less severely wounded. Those of my workmen who had not been arrested, or who had taken no part in the fight, were found at the excavations, methodically digging and wheeling as if nothing had happened. A hasty glance to see how the affair had affected me was all that I could detect. One hundred soldiers had been sent from Aidin, and the Kaimachan of Scala Nova and the deputy-governor of Aidin had come to investigate the affair.

The soldiers unfortunately arrived at Ayasalouk just

in time to secure the bread which had been made for my men, who had therefore to wait till another batch of loaves could be baked.

Meanwhile Mrs. Wood bound up the heads and limbs of the wounded, and did all she could, assisted by Miss Cumberbatch, till the doctor of the 'Swiftsure,' for whom I had telegraphed, should arrive.

Imprisonment of workmen.

The Turkish officials made the railway platform their justice-hall, sentries being placed to prevent intrusion. The depositions of the wounded men were taken and carefully written down by the clerk, to be forwarded with the prisoners to Smyrna. I lost the services of some of my best men by this affair.

April 24.—The wind was too high and boisterous for the men to work.

I had great difficulty in obtaining the liberation of four of my best men who had taken part in the late disturbance. Even as late as May 19, when they had been in prison for five weeks, Tahir Bey, chief of the police, to whom I spoke on their behalf, expressed his willingness to do all he could to help me, but added that he had not the power of obtaining their release until they had been tried. Imprisonment in such prisons as the gaol in Smyrna is in itself a severe punishment.

As the top soil was now being removed in preparation for the autumn, when the water was invariably low, nothing was found of any interest beyond some broken pottery at various levels and one or two common sepulchral jars. The pottery was chiefly Arabian, similar to the group already illustrated. A large jar was found

on the south side not far underground, with a quantity of a resinous substance which had been poured into it when in a fluid state.

Workmen leaving.

May 3.—The Emenekleh men worked to day like madmen or like men under the influence of some strong excitement. In explanation of this they said that that day must be the last of the season, as they had their little farms and homesteads to look after. Nothing that I could say had the least effect on them. They declared most positively that they would not stay for a thousand piastres a day; the next day, therefore, I was left with only thirty-five men to go on with to the end of the season.

One of our most distinguished and intelligent visitors this month was General Lord Henry Percy, G.C.B., V.C. He exhibited more than the usual interest in the ruins of Ephesus, and came more than once to roam about them. He was most anxious to see the tomb of St. Luke further explored, but I unfortunately could not at that time spare any of the few workmen who remained from the excavations on the Temple site.

Excavations suspended.

May 27 was the last day the men worked at the excavations, and on the 30th we left for England. Before leaving I measured up with Sergeant M'Kim the amount of earth-work which he might do by contract during my absence. On my recommendation the Trustees consented to his having three contracts, which comprised the removal of the soil on the eastern and northern sides of the excavations to a line at a given distance of the pavement. This would very much expedite the explora-

Contract with sapper.

tion of the ground in those places on my return in the autumn.

Corporal Trotman, the other sapper, was left to take photographs on his own account, both sappers being put on half-pay in consideration of the privileges allowed them.

END OF SEASON 1872–73.

CHAPTER V.

SEASON 1873-74 TO DEC. 31, 1873.

Delay—Excavations resumed—Carts and Horses—Platform-step—Lime-kiln — Injured Workman — Acroterium—Sculptured Frieze—Corporal Trotman—Eclipse—Fall of Sand—Distinguished Lady Visitors—Mode of paying Men—Bakal—Professor Sachau—Ramazan and Bairam—Inscriptions—Turkish Encampment—Architectural Details—Use of Gold—Sculpture from the Pediments—Angle of Roof—Dimensions of Platform ascertained—Pay-box—Work—Dry Season—Curb of Portico—Lions' Heads—Ancient Game—Poll-tax—Discovery of another Building—Portico—Enriched Cymatium—Grant exhausted—Hidden Inscriptions—The Mudir interferes—Sir Henry Elliot—A Protestant Service—Music Dancing at Ayasalouk.

Delay. I WAS detained in England this year longer than usual because the Turkish Government hesitated to renew my firman, and it was not till August 18 that we had news from the Ambassador that they would renew it once more on receiving a pledge that no more renewals should be asked for. Until the firman was actually granted, the Trustees would not authorise my return to Ephesus, although I urged the need of my going as soon as possible to take advantage of the subsidence of the water in the excavations. I had thus to wait in London ready to start immediately; but it was not till September 15 that I received marching orders.

Leaving England on September 19, we reached Smyrna October 3, having been detained by unusually

tempestuous weather in the straits of Messina, and having been obliged to avoid Marseilles for fear of quarantine at the end of our voyage. We were, as we had been several times before, kindly welcomed and received at the English Consulate on our arrival until we could find quarters in Smyrna.

Excavations resumed.

October 6.—To Ephesus, and found that Sergeant M'Kim had faithfully performed his three contracts. There was a large number of workmen assembled at Ayasalouk, whom I immediately engaged and set to work. Many poor sick people were anxiously expecting and waiting for Mrs. Wood to doctor them, and we both soon settled down again to our respective duties. We moved into our quarters in Smyrna on the 7th. There is great difficulty in finding lodgings or rooms in Smyrna, as it is one of the conceits of the inhabitants to keep their houses to themselves, however poor and necessitous they may be.

Carts and horses.

Sergeant M'Kim had hired carts and horses for the work he had done by contract, and as he found them more economical than wheelbarrows for removing the earth, I continued to use them in conjunction with wheelbarrows, and eventually purchased two of them ; these we used for the whole of the season. I made arrangements with the owners of the fields immediately adjoining our ground to allow the earth to be tipped and regularly spread over their land to the height of 6 feet. This proved a mutual advantage, as I was very much cramped for room on all sides but the south side ; and while it would have been extremely difficult, if not impossible, to add to the height of my spoil banks, they were only too glad to have their

land raised. We first of all hastened to remove the earth and débris, which had been purposely left to be done under my own personal superintendence, not knowing how soon the rains might come on and swamp me.

Platform-step.

October 16.—Found on the north side part of the lowest step of the platform on which the Temple was raised. This was a most important discovery, as it gave me the positive total width of the whole structure. There was, I found, only a very small error in my previous deductions from the data obtained during the last season. This step I proceeded to open up as far as it remained, and in doing so I found in one place a portion of the pavement remaining in conjunction with it. The rise of the steps of the platform was barely 8 inches, as I had previously conjectured from the masonry which had supported them on the south side. The small amount of wear on the arris of the step now found, which remained in position on the north side towards the east end for more than 100 feet, goes far to prove that the ascent to the platform at this point was discouraged by a fixed rail between the columns. Built upon the step and enclosing a portion of it was found a limekiln, 15 feet in diameter, into which doubtless much of the sculpture had been thrown and burnt for lime. It was near this that I found an immense heap of small marble chippings standing ready to be thrown into the kiln. These chippings were carefully examined, but very few fragments of sculpture were found in the whole heap. I had not long returned before the Turk who had been so severely wounded in the forehead by a Greek in the fight which occurred be-

Limekiln.

tween the Turks and Greeks during the last season, came to me to complain that the sum of nine Turkish pounds, which the Greek had been condemned to pay him, had never been handed over to him. The man had been frightfully disfigured, and his head seemed to have been permanently affected by the wound, his skull having been fractured. I did all I could for him, and I believe he eventually obtained a portion of the money, if not all—poor compensation for all he had gone through, as he was left with a fractured skull and an impaired intellect for the rest of his life.

Injured workman.

October 30.—Found at the west end a large fragment of what might have been part of the large central acroterium of the western pediment. The high relief of the enriched portion must have had a good effect at the height at which it was placed.

Acroterium &c.

November 3.—Two fragments of the sculptured frieze were found in the centre of the west front,[1] evidently belonging to the same frieze as the large block labelled in the British Museum as 'Herakles struggling with an Amazon;' all these stones have the same enriched mouldings forming the bed-mould of the cornice.

Sculptured frieze.

About this time Corporal Trotman became very fidgety and unhappy, and pressed for leave to return to England. He had spent the summer months in visiting the sites of the 'seven churches,' taking numerous photographs, and had, by exposure to the sun and over-exertion, brought on several severe attacks of fever, from the effects

Corporal Trotman.

[1] See Plate.

of which he almost constantly suffered. As he had been already two years at Ephesus, and I feared the work might not last more than another season, I persuaded him to remain till the end, as I had determined to do myself.

Eclipse.

November 4.—The eclipse of the moon this evening was well seen at Ephesus. It had already commenced when the moon rose above the mountains, and it terminated about 7.45. The Turks do not understand eclipses, and, on the occurrence of such phenomena, still think that some monster is endeavouring to devour the sun or moon. This evening they beat their drums and fired off guns to warn off the monster, and in doing so they shot a cow by accident, on which they feasted the next day.

Fall of sand.

November 7.—Some tons of sand from the north side of the excavation fell in upon the men who were working there. Fortunately a large gang of Arabs were there at work, and they soon scratched out the three men, who were completely covered. These men were so far hurt that they could not work for some days. They had been repeatedly warned not to undercut the sides of the excavation, but, to save trouble and get a good fall, they persisted in doing so. The accident had the good effect of making them more prudent. I was not present at the time; but the sappers informed me that the Emenekleh men (from beyond Konia) stood by helplessly looking on, and it was well the Arabs were there to contend with what may perhaps be called their native element.

Distinguished lady visitors.

November 12.—While I was at the works to-day, paying the men, who at this time numbered more than three hundred, the excavations were visited by Madame la

Princesse de la Tour d'Auvergne, and Madame Lopez, an English lady. They begged leave to take away some 'nice little bits' from the Temple. I had fortunately anticipated the wants of visitors in this respect, and had sorted out a great number of fragments, large and small, which were placed in a heap on the top. From this they chose their 'nice little bits,' and left in great glee with their trophies. By paying the workmen regularly every week, I obtained them at lower wages; for if they wished to leave at the end of any week, they could do so without any sacrifice, or the trouble of coming from a distance to claim their wages on a pay day, which with the railway companies came round only once a month. If one of my workmen wished to leave in the middle of the week, he would get some fellow-workman to give him his money for the two or three days he had already worked, and that workman would come forward on the following pay day, and claim the absentee's money. For the sake of keeping a bakal for the men, I was obliged to guarantee his payment, and had therefore to take into my accounts all that was owing for bread and other provisions, deducting it from the men's wages, and paying the bakal after the men had been paid. This gave me great trouble, but it kept my men together, and secured a supply of bread for them. I would advise anyone undertaking the conduct of excavations or similar works in Turkey to adopt this plan; for I can safely affirm that no other will answer the purpose of keeping a gang of men together, and, what is absolutely necessary, a bakal who can be depended upon for supplying bread regularly without payment on delivery.

Mode of paying men.

Bakal.

Professor Sachau.

November 17.—Professor Sachau, the well-known and accomplished Arabic and Hindoostani scholar, visited us at Ephesus, and showed great interest in the excavations. This gentleman, on his return to Vienna, lectured at the Museum on the discoveries at Ephesus, and prepared the Viennese for the lecture which I delivered there on my way home in April. The water in the excavations stood this day 2¾ inches below the pavement at the foot of the steps, having sunk more than 6 inches since my return for the season. This gave me greater facilities for exploring the area at a lower level than I had ever had before. Would that there had been more to find!

Ramazan and Bairam.

The fast of Ramazan had been going on for the last thirty days with the accustomed amount of fasting and prayer on the part of the workmen, and on the 20th the works were totally deserted, as they had been every previous year, for the feast of Bairam, most of the men going to Scala Nova to attend early service in the mosques there; for there was no regular priest at Ayasalouk, although one of the little mosques there was occasionally used for public prayer.

I took this opportunity to complete my survey of the ruins of the city with the aid of one of the sappers. A further study of the whole site inclined me to the belief that the hill at Ayasalouk might have been Mount Solmissus, on which, we are told by Strabo, the Curetes assembled, and, by the deafening noise of their arms, succeeded in concealing from Juno the birth of the goddess Diana.

November 22.—About 100 men were at work again.

Inscriptions.

November 24.—Having heard from Mr. Clarke, of Sokia, that a man had brought thither some inscriptions from distant ruins on the east side of the Besh Palmak mountain, which might have been those of ancient Alinda or Amazon, I hastened at once to see the inscriptions. I found them of so much interest that I determined to purchase them for the British Museum; but before coming to terms with the man who had possession of them, I first copied them by his leave into my note-book, and then took paper pressings of them, which I was obliged to leave wet on the stones in the evening. On going to remove them the next day I found, as I had feared, that the man had determined to checkmate me by removing my pressings himself and locking them up in his box. I warmly protested against his keeping my property, after giving me leave to take the pressings. With mixed persuasions and threatenings I ultimately gained my end, and he gave up the pressings. On the next day he sold the three inscriptions to me for 300 piastres. I sent them to the railway station on a camel's back the same evening with the kind assistance of Mr. Clarke, who has done so much for archæology by assisting Mr. Newton and Mr. Pullan at Priene and MM. Rayet and Thomas at Miletus.

Turkish encampment.

November 27.—Left Sokia at daybreak. As I approached the open plain, the strong red light from the sun which was about to rise above the mountain on the east side of the plain lighted up the sides of the mountain on the opposite side, along the base of which I was travelling, and where some devejees (camel-drivers) had encamped overnight. The men were now outside their

black tent with the camels, some of them putting fresh fuel upon the fire, which had probably burnt all night, others offering up their morning prayers. The whole scene was so strikingly beautiful that it made me regret I could not rise at the same time every day to see such sights. The ride from Sokia to the railway station at Balachik was accomplished in two and a half hours exactly. I have known the country people to spend four hours over it, but I have not patience for such slow progress on horseback.

There is much besides the beautiful scenery to interest and beguile the traveller in Turkey. He is cheered on the way by the hearty salutation of nearly everyone he meets, wishing him 'good day,' or commending him to God's protection as if they really meant it. If he approaches the black tents of the Yourooks in want of water, it is handed to him in a bowl without grudging, although it has sometimes been brought from a distant spring. This spirit of hospitality is shown by the Turk even on the railway; he will seldom eat without offering (with his fingers it may be) dainty morsels to his fellow-passengers. I once put up for the night at a khan at Magnesia ad Mæandrum, accompanied by a friend. After we had had our supper, three Turkish gentlemen came into the room where we reclined upon our mattresses, and had a supper of many courses served to them. As each dish was put before them, they politely pressed us to take a portion of it, till at last a roasted goose was served; of this we accepted the legs for our lunch on the road next day, and the Turks were much amused to

see our servant carve the goose, and take possession of the legs on our account.

In the course of the excavations, which, during the month of November, were carried on with as large a force as I could conveniently employ, I found several interesting fragments which assisted me materially in obtaining some knowledge of the details and ornamentation of the Temple. Among these not the least interesting was a fragment of moulded marble with two astragals between which was doubled a narrow strip of thin lead, a strip of gold being inserted in the fold. Part of this had been torn away, but I suppose that in its original state it turned down, and formed a narrow fillet or band of gold between the two astragals. I am sorry to say this is the only specimen of the kind found in the whole course of the explorations, but there was very likely a great quantity of gold used in this manner, nor can it be denied that the gorgeous beauty of the Temple would be much enhanced by this system of decoration. This discovery more or less confirms the truth of Pliny's statement that at Cyzicus there was a delubrum or small temple in which there was a thread or strip (*filum*) of gold in every joint of the marble; and in the inscription giving the accounts for the building of the Erectheum there is an item of so much gold-leaf purchased for gilding certain ornaments.

Architectural details.

Use of gold.

It is difficult to say whether the fragment found at Ephesus belonged to the interior or exterior of the Temple, there being nothing in the mouldings to prove their original position in the building; and although it

was found at some distance outside the cella-walls, it might have belonged to the interior.

Sculpture from the pediments.

One or two fragments of sculpture, including part of a female arm, and another with the elbow, both from figures about 11 feet high, and from (probably) the tympanum of the pediment at the west end, were found in the course of an exploration below the pavement and under water with the aid of our large pump, which was now kept almost always at work.

The toe of a colossal figure was also found at the east end at a low level, belonging probably to the pediment at that end of the Temple. It may be presumed, then, that the tympanum of the pediment at the east end contained sculpture as well as that at the west end.

One more large fragment of the tympanum was found at the west end beyond the lowest step of the platform in the south-west angle, in the same position in which it might have fallen. The two fragments of the tympanum now found are of the greatest importance, as they give the exact angle of the roof, which was found to be 17° (see West and East Elevations of Temple).

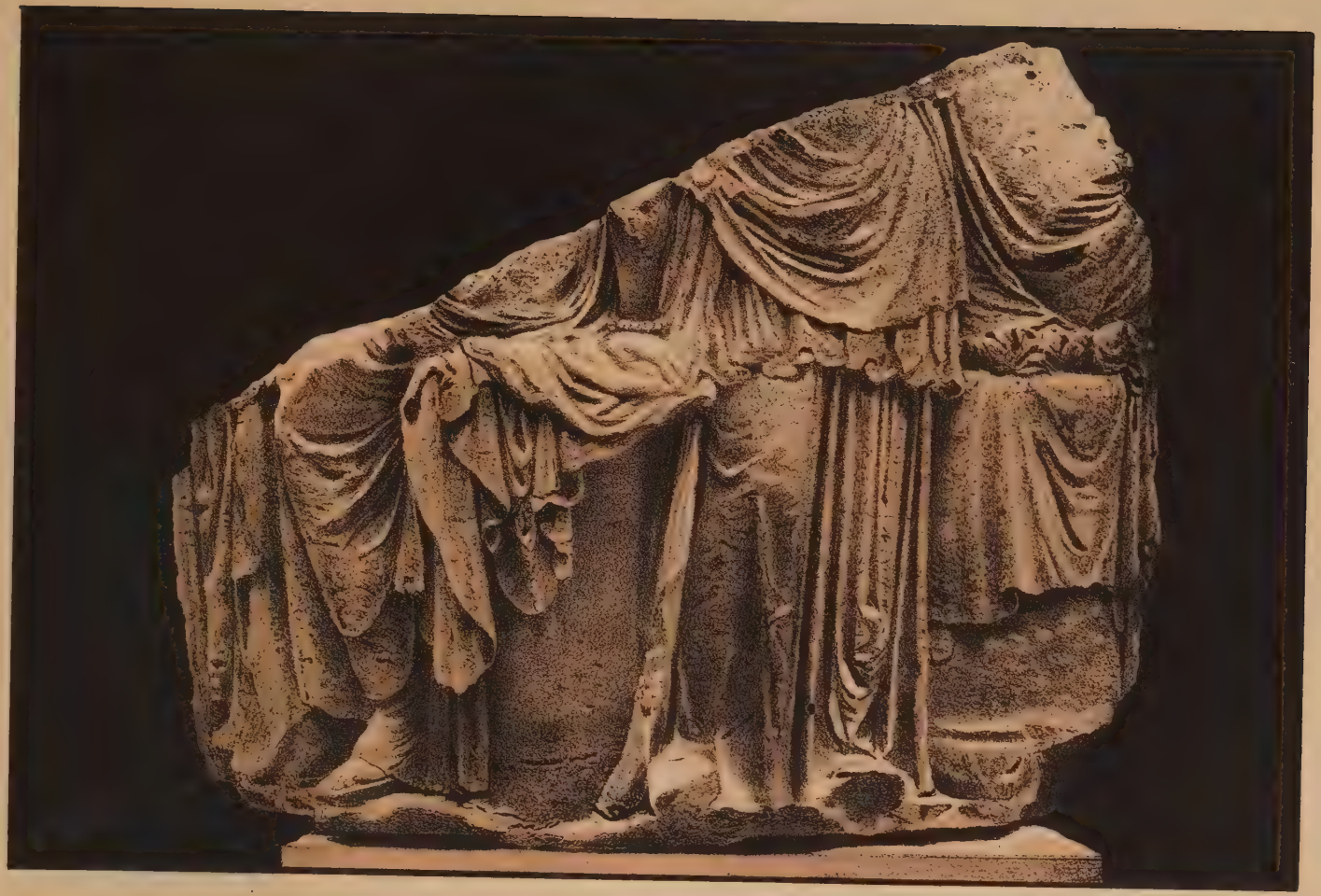
Angle of roof.

Dimensions of platform.

A still more important discovery was made this month. A short length of the lowest step at the east end was found which enabled me to decide the exact length of the whole structure, measured on the lowest step. The width had already been ascertained by the discovery of the step on the north side (see Plan of Temple).

Pay-box.

The payment of so many men as I now employed (more than three hundred) was a most tedious and troublesome piece of work, and I was often shut up in my



PART OF SCULPTURED DRUM OF COLUMN № 4.

MANHANHART LITH

pay-box for five or six hours at a time. This pay-box I had provided myself with only during the last season, and I found it a great comfort. I could occasionally retire to it for shelter from sun, wind, or rain, and I had it so placed from time to time that from it I could see all the men at work. I had it made by the carpenters of the 'Caledonia,' and it was fitted with a door, a window, and a shelf for writing, drawing, &c. I would recommend every excavator to provide himself with similar accommodation. I did without one for years, and experienced great discomfort and inconvenience for want of it.

Work.

I generally sent in a report of the progress of the excavations to the Trustees every month, or whenever there was anything that required immediate notice. These reports were sometimes accompanied by progress plans, the preparation of which, added to my daily duties of superintendence, the study of fragments and arrangement of all that was found, the making of plans with drawings of detail, and taking notes of all that took place, kept me often employed for as many as fourteen hours a day. Certainly the average of my day's work was quite double that of an ordinary Government employé in England.

Dry season.

In constant dread of the rains coming on and preventing exploration for the remainder of the season down to the pavement, I urged on the work. My fears were not realised, and the unusual dryness of the season singularly favoured the uninterrupted continuance of the works.

Curb of portico.

Before the close of November a length of marble curb or plinth of a stoa or portico was found in position on the

south side nearly 31 feet beyond the lowest step. This discovery led to others which will be described in their proper place.

Lions' heads.

A number of fragments of large lions' heads were found at a low level, which must have belonged to at least two of the latest temples. At the west end of the Temple one of the slabs of the marble pavement had been scored over with some rough lines making a few squares. This was evidently for some game played with pebbles or other substitute for draughts.

Ancient game.

Poll-tax.

December 17.—The Mudir came this morning to the excavations, and told me he wished to collect the poll-tax which the workmen were liable to pay to the Ottoman Government. When the dinner hour arrived, he called the men together, and addressed them, demanding payment of the tax then and there. The men, raising their voices against the imposition, as they called it, appealed to me to protect them. At the same time the Mudir proposed that I should deduct the amount from their wages and hand it over to him. This I would not undertake to do, nor would I interfere in support of the men's opposition, as I had been informed by our Consul at Smyrna, Mr. Cumberbatch, that the Mudir was right, that the workmen were liable to pay the tax on his demand, but that on the other hand they should be careful to obtain a receipt for the money they paid, to protect them from being charged again on returning to their homes. I tried to persuade the Mudir to postpone the collection of the tax till the works were closed; but in this, as I had found him in other matters of business, he was resolute, and in-

sisted on immediate payment. When I left the works, he was haranguing the men. About an hour afterwards a large body of the workmen, numbering more than a hundred, and chiefly Emenekleh men, came from the works to the side of my house in an excited state, some of them loudly vociferating and apparently trying to persuade the whole body to join in some plan or resolution. The Mudir, seeing the position of affairs, sent two Zaptiehs for their rifles, and stationed them at my door with fixed bayonets. On this some of the men smiled grimly, and I was vexed at a precaution which I believed to be quite unnecessary; it provoked the men to come in a crowd to the front of the house. My chief cavass Edrise then took upon himself to call to them to go away from the front, which they immediately did, to show they did not intend any threatening movement. I then sent Edrise down to them to tell them I should not pay them till next week, as he said they came with the idea of taking their money and leaving for their homes without paying the tax. They then dispersed, and the sentries were taken from my door. This incident shows how widely spread is the distrust of officials in Turkey.

Discovery of another building.

December 18.—The Emenekleh men were at work with the others. This day we found on the south side of the Temple the remains of another large building about 70 feet from the Temple. It was raised, as we afterwards learned, on three steps, and was adorned with Grecian Doric columns and entablatures, the columns being as much as 20 feet 6 inches apart. Between this building and

Portico.

the Temple were found the remains of a portico which surrounded the Temple on at least three sides. This portico was nearly 31 feet distant from the lowest step of the Temple, and was 25 feet wide. Long 'lengths' of the outer curbs remained in position, together with some of the bases, and the lower parts of some of the square marble piers belonging to the portico. The piers were spaced to correspond with the columns of the Doric building, every other pier of the portico being opposite

Cymatium.

a column. Fragments of the entablature and of some drums of the columns of the building beyond the portico were found here, also one or two lions' heads, the character of which made it appear that this building was of about the same date as the Temple. The columns were unaccountably small, considering their distance apart, being not more than 2 feet 6 inches in diameter. In widen-

ing the trench between this building and the Temple, I was fortunate enough to come upon a fragment of the cymatium (the uppermost member of the cornice of the Great Temple) beautifully enriched with the conventional Greek honeysuckle. See woodcut.

Enriched cymatium.

December 20th I had expended the whole of the grant of 6,000*l* made by Mr. Lowe; but a small additional grant was allowed by the Trustees to continue the excavations.

Grant exhausted.

During the month of December I endeavoured to ascertain a fact I had long suspected, viz., that the large marble blocks composing the front wall of the Great Mosque at Ayasalouk were from the cella-walls of the Temple, and that a great number of them were inscribed, their faces being turned inward. I asked Mr. Cumberbatch's opinion whether leave could be obtained to examine the wall from the interior of the mosque. As he was decidedly of opinion that any such application would be fruitless, I determined to go to work without special leave, and work on till I was interrupted. I detached two of my best and most expeditious workmen, and, digging a hole in the accumulated soil in the interior of the mosque, began to remove some of the inner stones of the wall in order to get at the inner side of the large facing stones on the outside. I had nearly accomplished this when the Mudir came one morning armed with pistol and sabre—a most unusual precaution for him—and attended by three or four armed Zaptiehs. I reached the mosque at the same time. After satisfying himself by a glance at the work, he turned to me and asked what I

Hidden inscriptions.

The Mudir interferes.

was doing there. I explained what I wanted, and tried in vain to persuade him to let the men remove one more stone, a large one; but he was obstinate, and warned the men off the work. Too glad to escape imprisonment, they quickly gathered up their tools, and hurried away to join their fellow-workmen at their legitimate work at the Temple.

Sir Henry Elliot.

Soon after this (January 9), Sir Henry Elliot, our ambassador at Constantinople, came to Ephesus accompanied by our consul, Mr. R. W. Cumberbatch, Tahir Bey, the Mudir, and others. I tried hard again to obtain the leave I so much coveted, but in vain. There was no opportunity of doing the work by stealth, even if I had been so inclined, for the Mudir set men to watch the mosque day and night; and the truth remains for others to ascertain. I feel convinced myself that almost all the inscriptions from the Temple are there, and it is most vexatious to leave them unexamined, and such a mine of wealth untouched. The wall is composed of from twelve to thirteen hundred large blocks of marble. The same day that the Mudir stopped my exploration of the mosque wall, our assistant chaplain, the Rev. W. Cook, came out to Ephesus in the evening. As it was the last day of the year, Mr. Cook held a prayer-meeting in the sappers' room which was attended by all those at Ayasalouk who understood English, and we made up quite a little congregation. This, I believe, was the last service held at Ayasalouk by a Protestant clergyman, and was confined to so few only because the service was in English. In former services which had been held at Ayasalouk while

A Protestant service.

the excavations were going on, the Greek language had been employed, and they were therefore attended by many of the villagers. I mention these facts, as I know they will be interesting to some of my readers. Thus closed the year 1873 at the ruins of Ephesus.

Ayasalouk was generally a quiet place, but on certain festivals which were kept by the Greeks it was noisy enough. At such times we were disturbed and annoyed by loud cries in the cafés near us, where they indulged in dancing to the beating of the Turkish drum, which was an earthenware cylinder, over the open end or ends of which (sometimes one end was closed) was strained a bladder. On this they made an almost monotonous sound, only slightly varied by the force of the stroke. The dancing to this dreary music was a solo performed generally by a young man, who before he got up to dance was so far primed with raki that his movements had quite a Bacchanalian character. The dancing, chiefly done by writhings of the body and movements rather of the arms than the legs, was now and then enlivened by the snapping of his fingers, an agile jump from one side of the ring to the other, and a loud scream or howl. Sometimes a small band of Jewish instrumentalists were hired, and they discoursed much pleasanter, often very good, music, of a character never heard in Europe.

Music and dancing at Ayasalouk.

The previous dry seasons had made this an especially favourable one for exploring the site of the Temple down to an unusually low level, and the long-delayed rains still further favoured me. Unfortunately very little had been left for us to take ; but that little, and the information ob-

tained by a more perfect examination of such parts of the Temple as remained in position, were of great value, and more than amply justified the expenditure sanctioned by the Trustees of the British Museum.

CLOSE OF THE YEAR 1873.

CHAPTER VI.

SEASON 1873-74. JANUARY TO ABANDONMENT OF EXCAVATIONS.

Suspension of Works—A Turkish Refusal—Discharge of Workmen—Method of paying Men—Ancient Well—The Altar—Sculpture—Foundations of Temple—Demolition of Church Foundations—Archaic Frieze—Lion's Head—Cymatium—Excellence of Ancient Greek Art—Mr. Newton on the Sculpture of the Temple—Boar's Head—The last Temple but two—Iron Grille—Remains of three Temples—The last Temple but one—The Temple Doors—The last Temple—The Platform—Dimensions of the Temple—The Columns—Pliny's 'Columnæ Cælatæ'—Dedicatory Inscriptions—Intercolumniations—The Cella—The Hypæthron—The Altar—Sculpture of Phidias and Praxiteles—Sculptured Frieze—Cymatium—Superstructure—The Roof—Lamps—Antifixa—Archaic Sculpture—Grecian Ionic Architecture—Architects of the Temple—Ancient Writers now understood—The Marble—Grecian Doric Building—Cold Weather—Archaic Sculptured Column—Amount of Work done—Sale of 'Plant'—Billal—St. Luke's Tomb—Fidelity of Turkish Workmen—Works closed—The Sappers—Results of the Season's Work—Antiquities shipped—We leave for England—Success of Mrs. Wood's Work—My own Success—Conclusion of Narrative.

THE year 1874 commenced with vexation and disappointment. Mr. Newton arrived January 2nd, and, even before visiting the works, expressed his opinion that they had better be stopped, as he thought they had not been sufficiently productive this season, and that there was not much promise of finding enough to justify further exploration. In this view I did not coincide. He urged immediate suspension of the works, and they were accordingly suspended, much to the amazement and confusion

Suspension of works.

of the workmen who were so suddenly and prematurely discharged.

A Turkish refusal.

The day after his arrival in Smyrna, Mr. Newton accompanied me and the chief dragoman from the British consulate to the Konak to ask the Pasha's leave to examine the west wall of the large mosque at Ayasalouk in quest of inscribed blocks from the cella-walls of the Temple. The Pasha said it was a *religious question*, and he must ask the Mollah. This is the Turkish system of refusing to grant a request, for to refuse 'point blank' is, in their opinion, discourteous and unnecessarily harsh. In vain I urged that my examination of only a single stone of the outer face of the wall from the interior, by digging under ground and removing a few stones from the inner side of the wall, would not endanger the building, and I promised to leave all as I found it, replacing the stones and the earth dug out; but all was to no purpose. The question must be referred to the Mollah, and the consulate dragoman should be informed in due time of the holy man's decision. This decision was never obtained, but a little later Tahir Bey, whom I looked upon as my friend and advocate in the matter, told me it was useless to persevere in my request—that the Turks would never grant it, because the building was sacred. This sanctuary was roofless, and is now only used for the shelter of cattle herded there at night.

January 5.—With Mr. Newton to Ephesus. Arriving at Ayasalouk, we found about 150 of the discharged workmen on the platform anxiously waiting to know their fate. These men were chiefly the Emenekleh men, who,

having come from such a distance, would naturally suffer far more than the other workmen from the unexpected suspension of the works. A visit to the excavations which we made immediately on our arrival did not change Mr. Newton's opinion. I therefore paid the men, and finally discharged all but twenty, who were retained to explore the Doric building, and to continue the excavations at each extremity of the Temple. Ali Khojah, the chief of the Emenekleh men, and about a dozen of the men themselves, parted from us quite affectionately, and looked behind them regretfully as they went away. I had adopted a system of paying the workmen which I found to answer extremely well, and I would recommend it to any future explorer in Turkey. The men's wages were uniformly ten piastres (about twenty-one pence) a day. I kept no men who could not earn this. The men were paid their wages every week, and at the end of the month a list was carefully prepared by the sappers and Greek ganger, and checked by myself, of all those men who had worked well and earned one or two piastres a day more, the maximum pay being twelve piastres a day. This extra sum was paid to them at the end of every month under the name of Bakshish. I found that this plan stimulated the men to exert themselves, and it helped greatly to keep them together from month to month, and many of them from the beginning to the end of the season.

Discharge of workmen.

Method of paying men.

In clearing away the sand at the east end of the Temple, we found an ancient well, in which we thought that something might be discovered. So we cleared it

Ancient well.

out to as great a depth as we possibly could, but found nothing but a little broken pottery of no value. As experienced explorers like Mr. Newton think there is a great chance of finding treasure in wells and drains, our failure was rather a disappointment to us all. On the north side of the Temple we found a fragment of a beautiful cameo representing a portion of a wing. As the water in the cella of the Temple was then still standing some inches below the pavement, I was enabled to explore more thoroughly the cella itself, and the remains of the great altar, which was nearly 20 feet square. Below the pavement was found a drain in the foundations of the altar, provided probably for carrying away the water used in washing the surface after sacrifice. A large fragment of an enriched Roman frieze was found in the cella. This probably belonged to the church or other building afterwards partly erected, but never finished, within the walls of the cella. A fine lion's head, part of a statue, belonging probably to one of the former temples, was also found here, with fragments of sculpture and architectural enrichment, below the pavement. A great number of fragments of the marble tiles from the roof were found scattered over the whole area of the site, but none of them were large enough to give the full size of the flat tiles, or the length of the elliptical tiles.

The altar.

Sculpture.

Bearing in mind Pliny's description of the precautions taken in laying the foundations of the Temple to prevent the damp rising, viz., by laying a bed of charcoal, and over this placing fleeces of wool, I sank, with the aid of the pump, four deep holes, one inside against the

Foundations of Temple.

west wall of the cella, one outside against the south wall, one near the centre of the cella, and one under the pavement of the peristyle of the last temple but two, at some distance from the cella-wall on the north side. In the holes sunk close to the cella-walls, I found, at the depth of 5 feet 9 inches, a layer, 4 inches thick, of a composition which had the appearance and consistency of glaziers' putty. Below this was a layer of charcoal 3 inches thick, and below that another layer of the putty-like composition 4 inches thick. I ordered a cutting of the whole mass to be got out; but the incoming of the water made this impossible, and I was obliged to content myself with some small specimens of the composition and charcoal. The composition has now been analysed through the kindness of my friend Mr. Matthieson, and has been found to consist of carbonate of lime 6591, silica 2610, water, &c. (volatile), 455, nitrogen a trace, so that, in point of fact, we have here nothing but a species of mortar. Below all this I found the natural soil, which was alluvial, being composed of sand and small water-worn stones of irregular form. The foundations of the walls consisted of rather small stones, and there was an offset of 3 feet on the inner side which made the foundations of the wall very wide and solid at the base. It was finally determined to take to pieces and examine the whole of the foundation-piers of the church which I have described in Chapter III. (Part 2) as having been thrown in against the cella-walls before they were removed. In doing this, which we partly effected by the aid of gunpowder in small quantities, we found a

Demolition of church foundations.

Archaic frieze.

great number of fragments of an archaic frieze which had probably belonged originally to the altar of the last temple but two, also many fragments of architectural enrichment—a Greek inscription, a small archaic head, in calcareous stone, of Egyptian character, and, above all,

Lion's head.

a magnificent lion's head, which was doubtless one of the gurgoyle heads belonging to the main cornice of the last temple, and which, placed immediately over one of the columns, spirted out the rain-water from the roof on to the pavement below. The carving of this lion's head is worthy of particular notice, the eye being deeply set, and carefully and distinctly defined between the eyelids. The markings of the nose and jaw and the treatment of the hair and ears are admirable, nor is there anything more striking in the Museum from the ruins of the Temple than this head. As Mr. Newton has remarked in an article published in the 'Portfolio' for June 1874, 'it is interesting to compare this specimen with the same feature in the cornices of the Mausoleum and the Temple at Priene.' Mr. Newton further adds, with the able judgment of one who has made Greek sculpture and architecture one of his special studies and delights: 'These lions' heads would prove, even if we had no other evidence, what masters the ancients (Greeks) were of architectural effect, and with what judgment the proportions of their ornaments were adjusted to the general scale of their buildings.'

Cyma-tium.

Side by side (or nearly so) with the lion's head in the Elgin Room at the British Museum is seen the fragment of enriched cymatium already noticed. The rich effect

of the whole as a crowning member may be appreciated to some extent by a painstaking student or intelligent observer. Whether we appreciate it or not, it appears to me a fact that the ancient Greek architecture and sculpture of the best period (which is defined by Mr. Newton as beginning about the year B.C. 450 and ending about the time of the death of Alexander the Great, B.C. 323) reached perfection as nearly as the work of man possibly can. Many Greek works of art which may at first sight appear even coarse, rough, and unfinished, were, in their proper place, much more effective than if they had been modelled in accordance with our own more imperfect and erroneous notions of true art. A lion's head of an earlier period, evidently a portion of a statue, was also found within the cella-walls, and is now exhibited in the Elgin Gallery.

Excellence of ancient Greek art.

Referring more particularly to the fragments of archaic sculpture which may be supposed to have decorated an altar in the Temple, I cannot do better than quote Mr. Newton's words from the 'Portfolio' of June 1874:—

Mr. Newton on the sculpture of the Temple.

'In the lowest stratum of Mr. Wood's excavation at Ephesus, he found upwards of one hundred fragments of a frieze which, so far as we can at present judge, appear to be similar in style to the Xanthian and Thrasian reliefs, and which may therefore be referred with probability to the period when the Temple of Diana begun by Ctesiphon and Metagenes about B.C. 580 (?)[1] was completed by Demetrius and Pæonius.'

'I think it not improbable that these Ephesian frag-

[1] Their date was probably 480—460 B.C.

ments may be part of the θρυγκός or cornice which, according to Pausanias, adorned an altar in the Hiera of Diana, on which stood the statue by Rhœkos, the famous sculptor, called by the Ephesians Night, and which probably represented Leto, the mother of Artemis.'

Boar's head.

Part of a large boar's head, found in the cella, was probably of the same date as the lion's head, which I have supposed belonged to the last temple.

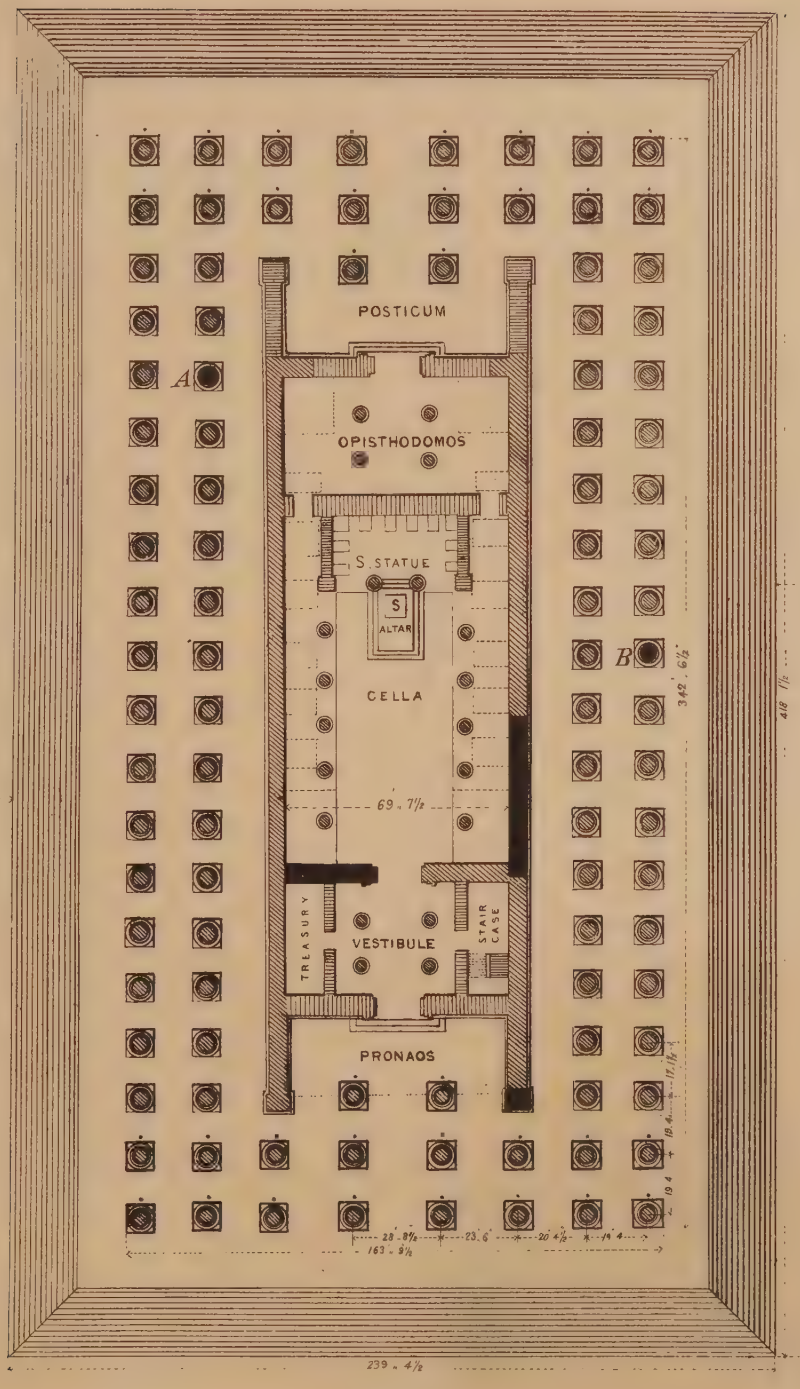
I must now refer more fully to some interesting facts relating to the Temple which were not fully developed till late this season, and not till we had removed the whole of the foundation-piers of the church. Then, and not till then, were clearly traced the still existing and distinct remains of the last three temples.

The last temple but two.

The lowest marble pavement, of which quite one-half remains in position outside the cella-walls, and which is nearly 7 feet 6 inches below the pavement of the peristyle of the last temple, was evidently that of the last temple but two, an intermediate pavement between this and the pavement of the last temple having been found. The lowermost pavement has been already described as being composed of two layers, the upper one of white marble, which was not laid down in square blocks or slabs, but is of every size and shape neatly fitted, the most common shape being a blunt oblong wedge like the voussoir of an arch. This is the pavement referred to when the site of the Temple was first discovered. At the west end between the antæ it is mortised in four or five places, the mortises being about 19 inches apart, to receive the standards of an iron or bronze grille which separated the

Iron grille.

TEMPLE OF DIANA, EPHESUS.



PLAN

SCALE OF FEET.

N.B. The Columns marked A & B. and the Walling and Anta colored dark were found in position.
The dotted Columns are Sculptured. ("Columnæ Cœlatæ")
The foundation piers of the Church within the Walls of the Temple are indicated by dotted lines.

pronaos from the peristyle: copper or bronze sockets (one of these was found in its place) were inserted in these mortise holes for the reception of the standards, which were not run with lead as in the present day. In the west front the plinth of a column of the last temple but two was found in position, as well as part of the base of one of the inner columns, consisting of the plinth and lowest circular stone. The position of these corresponded as nearly as I could ascertain with that of the columns of the last temple, giving me satisfactory proof that the last three temples were built on the same plan, but were raised one above the other, the remains of the most ancient of the three temples forming the foundations of the last two. The discovery of the remains of three temples on the same site and of the same size accounts for Pliny's statement that the Temple was 220 years building, the earliest of the three having been probably commenced, as I have supposed, about 500 B.C., and the latest in the time of Alexander the Great. Nearly 4 feet above the lowest of the three pavements was found the highly polished white marble pavement of the last temple but one (the temple burnt by Herostratos). Large patches remained in position, and were only discovered on the removal of the upper portion of the foundation-piers of the church. Connected with this pavement were found near the west wall of the cella two large marble blocks, resting upon a massive and solid foundation, in which was cut the groove for the outer bronze wheel on which the door of the Temple moved, also the corresponding sinking for the inner wheel. The groove was 8 inches wide and

Remains of three temples.

The last temple but one.

$3\frac{1}{4}$ inches deep, and was much worn. The mortise for the door-frame was also cut in one of these stones. The exact width of the whole door was thus ascertained, namely, 14 feet $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches, in two parts, as 'folding doors.' It must therefore have been nearly 35 feet high. This width, however, applies with certainty only to the door of the last temple but one; the last temple might have had a wider or narrower door. A few stones of the cella-wall on the north side were left rough inside, as if something had been here fitted against it. The blocks composing the wall were cramped together with long cramps in an oblique direction for the whole depth of each course, and the ends were turned inward and downward and run with lead.

The Temple doors.

The last temple.

I have now to complete my description of the last temple, so far as I have been able to restore it from the data furnished by the excavations on its site.

The platform.

The platform upon which the Temple was raised, called by Pliny the 'universum Templum,' was 418 feet 1 inch by 239 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches (English), measured on the lowest step, the dimensions given by Pliny being 425 by 220 feet (Roman). The height of the pavement of the peristyle from the pavement beyond the platform was 9 feet $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The height of each step was little more than 8 inches; fourteen steps, therefore, were needed to mount to the peristyle. The 'tread' of the steps was 19 inches.

Dimensions of the Temple.

The Temple itself was 163 feet $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 342 feet $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and was octastyle, having eight columns in front; and dipteral, having two ranks of columns all

PERSPECTI

NA, EPHESUS.

LOOKING EASTWARD.

M & N HANHART

round the cella. This accords with the description of it by Vitruvius.

The columns. The columns of the peristyle were, as Pliny has described them, one hundred in number, twenty-seven of which were the gifts of kings. They were 6 feet $0\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter at the base; and adopting the proportion given by Vitruvius for the improved Ionic order, that is $8\frac{1}{2}$ diameters in height independent of the base upon which they were raised, they would be 55 feet $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, including the base. This nearly accords with Pliny's dimension for the height of the columns, viz., 60 feet (Roman), a Roman foot being about one-third of an inch shorter than an English foot. Pliny describes thirty-six of these hundred columns as 'cælatæ' (sculptured), and I have no doubt they occupied the positions shown on my plan of the Temple, viz., eighteen at the west end, and the same number at the east end. The data in our possession do not enable me to state with certainty to what height the sculpture of these 'columnæ cælatæ' was carried up. The medal of Hadrian illustrated by the woodcut A distinctly represents one tier of figures only with a band of mouldings above it. The medal of Gordianus, B, published in Professor T. L. Donaldson's 'Architectura Numismatica,' gives a similar representation; but the band of mouldings is much higher up the shaft of the column. Of the five examples of the sculptured columns in our possession, the diameter of three of the frusta or drums can be clearly ascertained; of these three, two measure the same at the base as the lowest drums of the fluted columns (6 feet $0\frac{1}{2}$ inch), the third measures only

5 feet 6½ inches across its upper end. This would make it appear that the sculpture was carried up to the height of about 20 feet, or for three tiers of sculpture divided by bands of mouldings as shown in illustrations. The question then arises whether the columns at the west end were sculptured to the height of one tier only, as shown by the medals, and those at the east end, where the smaller drum

A.

was found, to the height of three tiers. (See south elevation.) To give my readers a fair opportunity of judging for themselves, I have given elevations showing both examples, also illustrations to a larger scale of columns with three tiers and one tier of sculpture respectively. I am myself inclined to adopt the example with three tiers as the most truthful representation of the sculptured columns, es-

pecially as the only evidence to the contrary is that of medals, which in this case give very grotesque and imperfect representations of the Temple. The term sculptured columns certainly does not so well apply to such as were sculptured for only one-tenth the height of the whole

MEDAL·OF·TEMPLE·OF·DIANA·EPHESVS,
AYT·K·M·ANT·ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC.

B.

column. Above the sculpture, to whatever height it was carried, the columns were doubtless fluted. Fragments of dedicatory inscriptions deeply incised were found on the torus of the outer fluted columns of the peristyle. The columns thus inscribed were probably the gifts of communities or individuals. The twenty-seven columns, gifts

of kings, mentioned by Pliny, were probably among the thirty-six sculptured columns, and their dedications might have been inscribed upon a band above the first tier of sculpture.

Inter-columniations.

The intercolumniations[1] between the columns on the flanks were 17 feet 1½ inch, excepting the two intercolumniations at each extremity of the Temple, where they were increased to 19 feet 4 inches, to allow, I suppose, for the projection of the sculpture on these columns, which, in one of the examples found, was, as I have before stated, as much as 13 inches.

The spacing of the columns in front deserves particular attention. Vitruvius, in his book dedicated to Augustus, describes the intercolumniations in front of a temple as equal, excepting only the central one, which was made wider than the others to allow the statue within the temple to be well seen from the road through the open door. But I found that there was in the great Ephesian Temple a beautifully harmonious gradual diminution from the centre to the angles, which made the increased width of the central intercolumniation quite unobjectionable. All the ordinary columns of the peristyle were fluted with elliptical flutings 8¼ inches wide near the base, these were separated by fillets very little more than one inch wide. The outer columns had 24 flutings, the inner columns 28. Vitruvius describes the inner columns of the peristyles of temples as having 'thirty' flutings.

The cella.

The cella was nearly 70 feet wide, and I have supposed the Temple to have been hypæthral or partly

[1] The dimension from centre to centre.

TEMPLE OF DIANA EPHESUS.

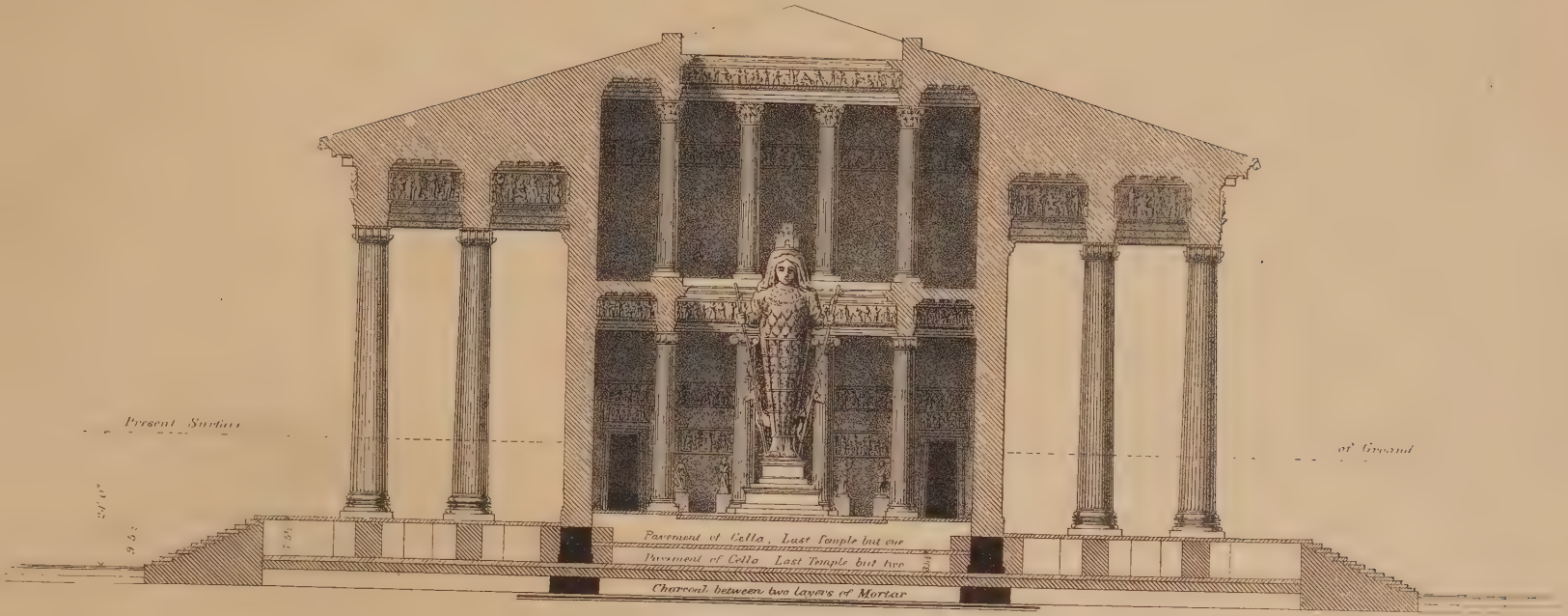
WEST ELEVATION.

TEMPLE OF DIANA, EPHESUS.

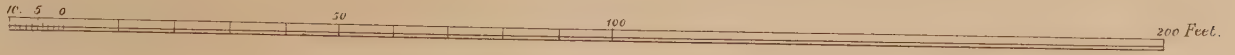
EAST ELEVATION.

50 100 200 Feet

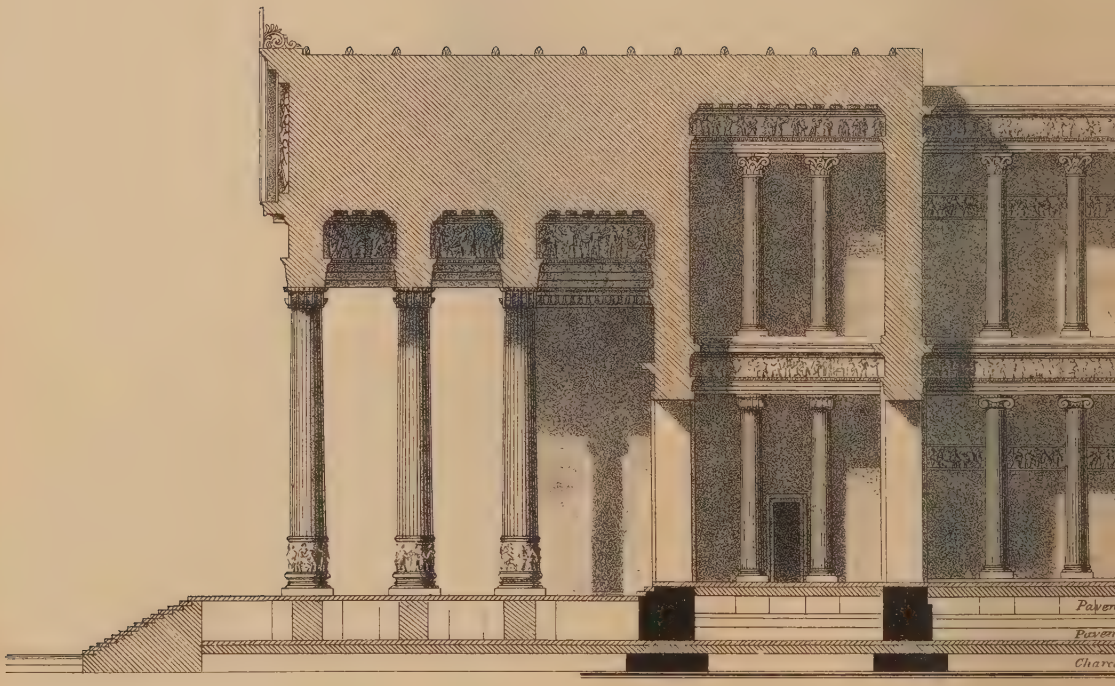
TEMPLE OF DIANA, EPHESUS.


Present Surface
of Ground
Pavement of Cella, Last Temple but one
Pavement of Cella Last Temple but two
Charcoal between two Layers of Mortar

TRANSVERSE SECTION.



TEMPLE

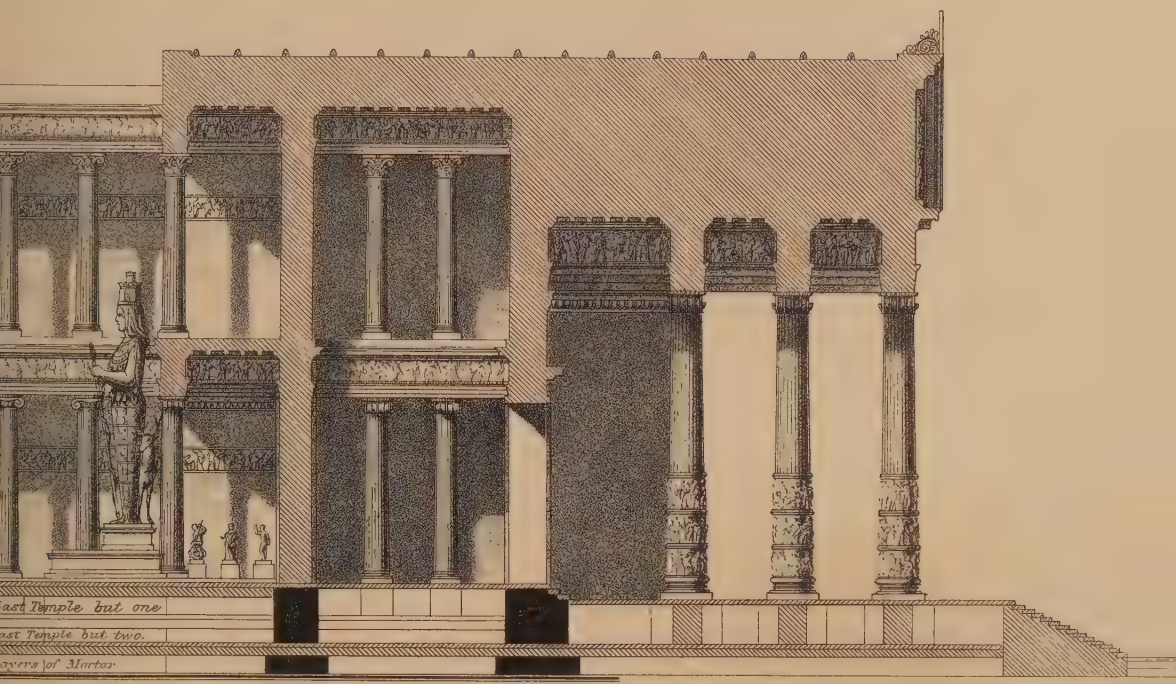


WEST.

LONG

10 5 0 50 100

NA, EPHESUS.



L SECTION.

EAST.

200

300 Feet

open to the sky. A double tier of columns must have been employed in the cella, but the only fragment found which might have belonged to the interior is part of a Corinthian capital, elliptical on plan. What the hypæthron of the Greeks really was has not yet been deter-

The hypæthron.

A.

mined. There are many reasons for believing that it was a large space in the cella which was open to the sky like the central court of the Royal Exchange of London. The literal meaning, 'under the sky,' seems to admit of this arrangement only. The size of the aperture remains an open question. The pavements of

Greek temples were sunk in the centre, which appears to prove that the rain was allowed to fall there, and by this contrivance the remainder of the cella was kept dry.

Mr. Fergusson has supposed that the statue of the god or goddess could not have been exposed to the rain or snow, but that the whole of the Temple was roofed over, and that the cella was lighted from above,

B.

not by an aperture in the roof, but by a clerestory, which he obtains by countersinking the roof on both sides. The question is, whether such an arrangement would answer to the term hypæthral? The statue may have been protected from the weather by a species of canopy or baldacchino. Remains of the altar were found in position as shown on plan. In rear of the altar must

The altar.

have stood the statue of the goddess. The foundations discovered are large enough for both the altar and the statue. The statue of the goddess which was said to have fallen from Jupiter[1] was probably similar in character to the traditionary many-breasted goddess represented by old engravings, and the well-known statue of the Asiatic goddess in the Museo Reale at Naples. (See illustration A, page 269).

The illustration B is from an archaic statuette in white marble which I met with in the garden of a Turkish gentleman at Mylassa.

Sculpture of Phidias and Praxiteles.

The works of Phidias and Praxiteles with which the altar was said to abound, I have supposed to have been placed in a deep recess behind the altar and statue, such as I have shown in my plan. Here pedestals for statues and groups of sculpture might have stood, and numbers of bas-reliefs might have been placed on the walls between the antæ of the recess.

Sculptured frieze.

To return to the exterior of the Temple, the fragments of sculptured frieze found in the excavations prove that the whole of the frieze was sculptured with familiar mythological subjects in which Diana, Hercules, Theseus, Amazons and others figured.

A large fragment of sculpture, representing the winged figure of a man leading a ram, was found at the west end of the excavations. This massive block of marble formed a corner-stone, and was probably part of an altar which might have stood on the platform outside the Temple.

[1] Acts xix.

Cymatium.

The cymatium was beautifully decorated with the conventional Greek honeysuckle ornament, intercepted by boldly and well-executed lions' heads which measured nearly two feet across the forehead. Above the cymatium were antifixa of white marble.

Superstructure.

Fragments of the architrave which were found together with those of the frieze and cornice have enabled me to complete the whole of the entablature, a small portion of the cornice only having been left to conjecture.

The roof.

The roof was covered with large white marble tiles, of which many fragments were found, as well as of the circular cover tiles. Unfortunately the size of the flat tiles can be determined only approximately by the probable distance apart of the lions' heads in the cymatium. If I am correct in this, the tiles were about 4 feet wide; the circular (elliptical) tiles covering the joints were 10½ inches wide.

Such, then, was the building which ranked as one of the seven wonders of the ancient world, the beauty of which attracted such multitudes to Ephesus, and which is alluded to in Acts xix. St. Paul, during his three years' sojourn at Ephesus, doubtless often gazed upon it with admiration, at the same time that he deplored its consecration to the worship of a heathen goddess.

St. Paul.

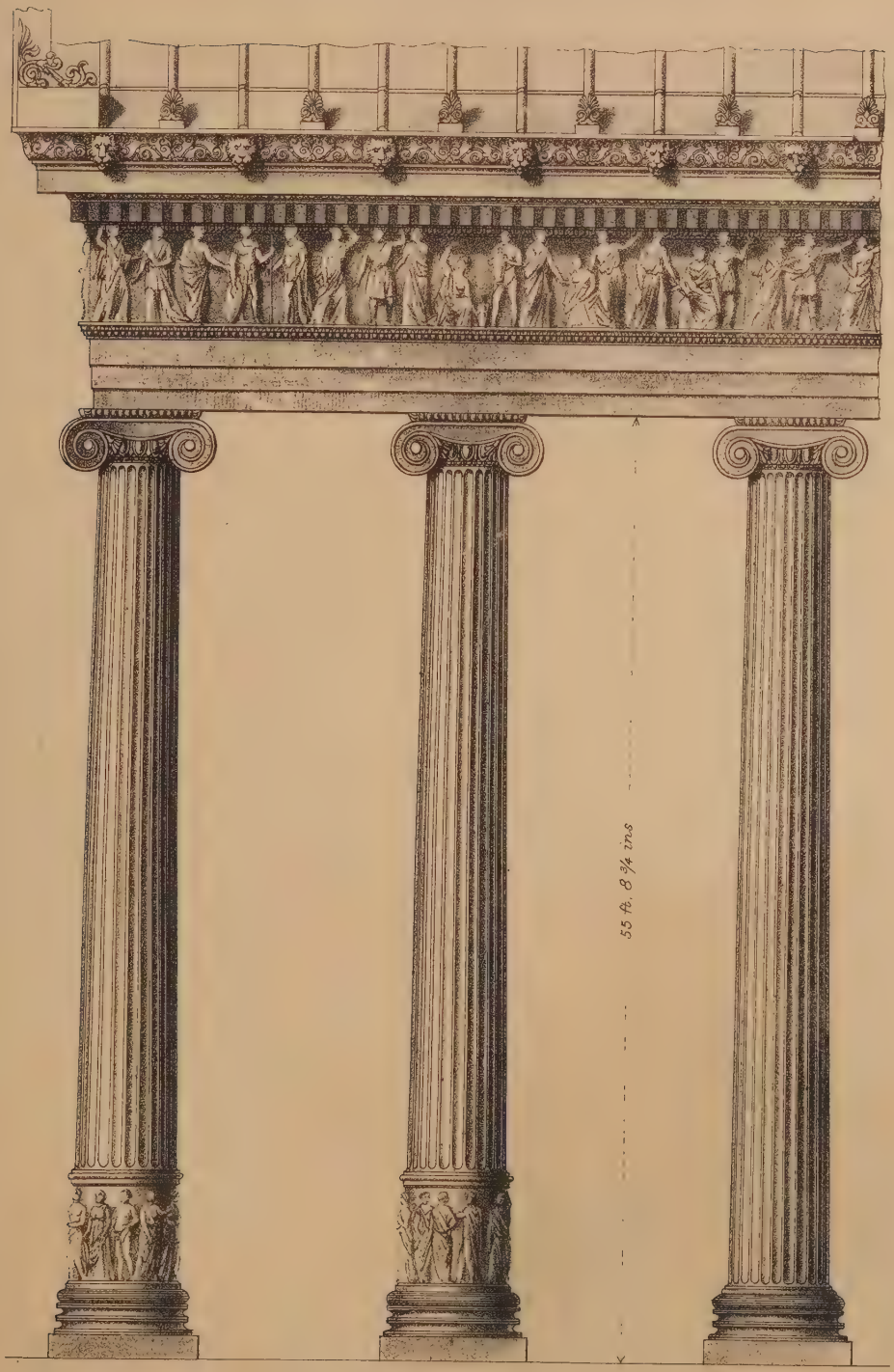
Lamps.

In clearing out the cella, a few plain but well-made terra-cotta lamps were found. Some of these are pierced through the centre, and might have been held aloft on a rod or stick in processions.

Antifixa.

While the church piers were being demolished and

TEMPLE OF DIANA, EPHESUS.



COLUMNS AND ENTABLATURE. WEST.

10 5 0 10 20 30 40 Feet

TEMPLE OF DIANA, EPHESUS.

COLUMNS AND ENTABLATURE. EAST.

10 5 0 10 20 30 40 Feet

examined, a few men were kept working at the Doric building, also in the area beyond the Temple steps. At the east end, near the lowest step, was found a fragment of a honeysuckle ornament which probably belonged to one of the antifixa or fronting stones of the circular tiles from the roof of the Temple. There were also found some very interesting fragments of archaic sculpture which have been considered worthy of especial notice by Mr. Newton in the 'Portfolio' for July 1874:— Archaic sculpture.

'Among the marbles discovered by Mr. Wood in the Temple of Diana at Ephesus were certain fragments of archaic sculpture which are evidently works executed in the same school as the sculpture from Branchidæ. They consist of a female head, on which the remains of colour can still be seen, part of two other heads, and portions of the bodies of several draped female figures under life-size. All these sculptures were attached as decorations to a marble background; the figures are not therefore sculptured in the round, but, if we may borrow a term used by architects, are engaged figures. Now, when we compare the statues from Branchidæ and Miletus with the Ephesian fragments, we find a resemblance sufficiently strong to justify us in supposing that the sculptures from both localities are the product of the same school; and when we take into consideration the connexion of Theodorus and Telekles with Ephesus, we can hardly doubt that we have, in these most ancient sculptures in marble, works of the Samian school furnished by that family.

'The discoveries recently made at Cyprus by General Cesnola and Mr. Lang have greatly added to our knowledge of the archaic period of Greek art. In that island, inhabited by a mixed population, and subjected in turn to Egyptian, Assyrian, Phœnician, and Persian influence, we find a series of sculptures in calcareous stone, some of which are direct imitations of Egyptian statues; others have much of the peculiar mannerism of Assyrian art, while the style of others again reminds us so closely of the sculpture from Branchidæ and Ephesus, which we have been describing, that they may be referred with probability to the same school and period.

'It is interesting to compare some of the heads in this series with those from Branchidæ and Ephesus already noticed. The nose is generally sharp-pointed, though in one of the Ephesian heads it is unusually broad and flat near the end. The mouth has the stereotyped smile characteristic of Greek archaic art, the corners having an upward tendency. The angle at which the eyes and eyebrows are set in relation to the nose, varies, but the outer corner of the eye is generally higher than agrees with our idea of symmetry.

'In all these examples, and especially in the Ephesian heads, the eye appears rather as if seen through a slit in the skin than as if set within the guard of highly sensitive and mobile lids. The same want of knowledge which in the seated figures from Branchidæ has failed to disconnect the bodies from the chairs, has, in the treatment of the eye, been unable to express its free movement and to detach it from the lids.

'In one of the Ephesian heads the eyelids are so little marked that it is quite certain that they must have been suggested by the aid of colour. When we compare the treatment of the face in the earlier Egyptian sculptures, as for instance in the colossal head of Ramses II., we see far truer and more skilful modelling of the eye and eyelid, and of the mouth.

'The use of calcareous stone for sculpture must have preceded that of marble in the Hellenic world.

'According to Pliny, the first artists who worked in the nobler material were Dipœnos and Skyllis, certain sculptors whom he places about B.C. 580.'

Mr. Newton, in another article in the 'Portfolio' for July 1874, makes some further remarks relating to the sculpture from the Temple of Diana which I shall here quote at some length for the same reason that I have before given. He writes:

Grecian Ionic architecture.

'Closely connected in date and style with the sculpture from the Mausoleum at Priene are the remains of the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, a part of which is exhibited at the north end of the Elgin Room. As a contribution to the history of Greek architecture these relics of one of the most celebrated Ionic temples of the ancient world are of transcendent interest. By comparing the architectural remains obtained from the Mausoleum, from the Temple of Athena Polias at Priene, from the Temple of Apollo at Branchidæ (recently explored by the French archæologists, MM. Rayet and Thomas), and from the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus, we shall be able to trace

the development of Ionic architecture in Asia Minor with far greater accuracy than has been hitherto done.

'While the researches of MM. Rayet and Thomas have led to the startling discovery that the bases of some of the columns of the great Branchidæ Temple were richly sculptured with ornaments previously unknown in this architectural combination, Mr. Wood's explorations on the site of the Ephesian Artemision have proved beyond all doubt the correctness of Pliny's much-disputed statement that thirty-six of the columns of the peristyle were cælatæ, ornamented with sculpture in relief. Portions of several (five) drums thus sculptured in relief have been sent home by Mr. Wood, all unfortunately too much mutilated to enable us to make out what were the subjects of the several compositions which enriched the shafts. In the most perfect fragment (a drum next the base) the figures, 6 feet high, are carved in low relief, the requisite variety of planes being ingeniously obtained without disturbing the general outline of the shaft by undue projection.

'Fragments of much bolder relief from the frieze and from one of the columns were also found by Mr. Wood.

'We have hardly enough of this sculpture to be able to judge of its merits, but it may be fairly said to be of consummate excellence if we regard it as architectural decoration.'

A few of the examples of sculpture here alluded to by Mr. Newton have apparently come from sculptured columns of a still earlier date than I have assigned to the earliest of the three temples, the remains of which I found

on the site ; or these examples may perhaps be taken as proofs that Greek art did not make the same progress at Ephesus as at Athens during the fourth and fifth centuries B.C.

The discovery of the fact that the last three Temples of Artemis at Ephesus were not only built upon the same site, but were of the same dimensions, will assist materially to clear up some of the statements of ancient writers which have appeared to be irreconcilable.

Philo, an architect of Byzantium, who wrote about three centuries before Christ, informs us that an immense excavation was made, and the foundations were laid with stone from the quarries above : (the hill at Ayasalouk ?), and that the work was then commenced by forming a basement of ten steps.

Pliny and Diogenes Laertius tell us that the foundations of the Temple were laid on charcoal and fleeces of wool, according to the advice of Theodorus of Samos, son of Rhœkos, about the year B.C. 500.

Architects of the Temple.

Vitruvius, writing in the time of Augustus, about 25 B.C., tells us that the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, of the Ionic order, was built by Ctesiphon of Gnossus and his son Metagenes, and was afterwards completed by Demetrius, a priest of Diana, and Pæonius, an Ephesian.

The temple commenced by Ctesiphon and his son was doubtless the one first raised on the foundations laid by Theodorus of Samos, and was probably begun about the year B.C. 480–460.

The names of the architects of the temple which was

built on the same foundations about the beginning of the fourth century B.C. have not been handed down to us. This temple was destroyed the day Alexander the Great was born. The third and last temple on the same foundations was built by Dinocrates, a Macedonian architect, and to this building belong most of the sculpture and fragments of architecture from the temples now in the British Museum.

On so vast a building as the Temple of Diana architects must have been constantly employed; but the names which I have given are the only ones handed down to us.

Ancient writers now understood.

We find then that Philo described the foundations which had served for the last three temples; that Vitruvius described the manner in which the last temple but two was constructed, and his description answered as well for the last two, all three buildings being similar in plan; that Pliny, in saying that the Temple of Diana took 220 years in building, was speaking of all these last three temples as one building, as they were twice rebuilt on the same plan and site.

The marble.

The marble with which the Temple was built certainly did not come from the quarries of either Prion or Coressus. There is marble in the mountain which bounds the plain on the east side; but I could find no quarry there which could have supplied the marble. I believe it may have come from Cosbounar, where there is a very large quarry of fine white marble; and if we read *passuum* for *pedum* in the description of Vitruvius relating to the distance of the quarry from the Temple, it will make this conjecture

a probable one, as five thousand double paces would be equal to about five miles. The marble used in the three temples varied in quality, that from the two earlier ones being very superior; it was a crystallised saccharine marble capable of taking a high polish. Some of the drums of the columns of these temples were used for the frieze of the last, the columns of the last temple being of a coarser marble and having grey streaks in it.

The destruction of the church piers and examination of the stones of which they had been built was a long and tedious affair; but, as I have already said, numerous fragments were recovered which, when cleaned from the mortar that enveloped them, furnished me with much of the detail of the architectural enrichment of the Temple. The difficulty is to sort the fragments and to assign them to the particular temple to which they belonged, and to their exact original position in the building.

We had the most lovely weather for our work during the month of January, which is one of the most pleasant months in the year in Asia Minor. The annual feast, Courban Bairam, took all my men away from their work for several days. The month of February opened with continued cold weather, and found us still at the work of destruction of the church piers, exploring the Doric building, and continuing the exploration of the east end of the Temple. The ruins of the Grecian Doric building were not productive of any interesting details; and as I had not the means at my disposal for exploring the whole building, and most of it was covered by one of my largest spoil-banks, I discontinued the work there February 19th,

Grecian Doric building.

having found the piers of four of the columns in position and a portion of the wall beyond. All this month small fragments of sculpture were found from time to time in the church piers and elsewhere, but nothing that requires particular mention here.

Cold weather.

Early in March the cold weather, which had now prevailed for nearly two months, increased in intensity. The large saws used at the excavations for lightening the larger marble blocks when practicable, were frozen in the half-sawn blocks when they were not removed overnight, or in the morning during the breakfast half-hour. There was ice an inch thick in the excavations for more than a week. In some of the villages the running water in the streets froze, and the aqueducts near Smyrna, decorated with immense icicles, attracted many visitors. For many days my men were unable to work. The intensity of the cold in the interior was so great that shepherds and others were found frozen to death; others were brought frost-bitten and helpless into the hospitals at Smyrna. Such was the unusual severity of the first few months of that year. On finding an interesting Greek inscription in the cella, together with a number of other fragments justifying some further expenditure, I increased my gang of men from twenty to forty, and this number was kept up till nearly the end of the season.

Archaic sculptured column.

Two large fragments of archaic sculpture found at a low level on the site of the Temple have been recently fitted together at the British Museum, and it is now quite evident that they formed part of a sculptured column about 6 feet in diameter. Another fragment, consisting

of a female head and a fragment of the marble to which it was attached, also appears to have formed part of a sculptured column ; and these two examples prove that the columnæ cælatæ, noticed by Pliny, were a peculiar feature of the earlier of the last three temples as well as of those which succeeded it.

Amount of work done.

On referring to the report sent to the Trustees for their information March 27th, I find that I then estimated the amount of earth examined at 132,221 cubic yards, the bulk of which had been wheeled out from the site. The dimensions of the large oblong area dug out are—length 500 feet, width 300 feet, and depth 22 feet to pavement of earliest temple. Besides this there is, branching off on the south side, a wide cutting exposing a long length of the portico surrounding the Temple, and part of the Doric building on that side. The appearance of this large excavation, with its immense and irregular spoil-banks, is very striking, more especially at twilight—'weird-like' it was called by a Scotch lady who rode past it rather late in the evening on the road from the ruins to Ayasalouk.

Sale of 'plant.'

I had received instructions from the Principal Librarian of the British Museum to sell my '*plant*,' taking advantage of any favourable opportunities which might occur for my doing so without making great sacrifices. I was fortunate enough to find a purchaser for my carts and horses, as well as for some of my other plant, in Mr. de Cuyper, a Belgian engineer employed at some coal mines near Turbali. Most of the remainder was taken by the manager of the Smyrna and Aidin railway.

Billal.

Mr. de Cuyper willingly took into his employment Billal, the black groom, who had then been with me for eight years. With the horses, therefore, the groom must go, but he was most unwilling to leave before we left, and he wept bitterly when he came to say good-bye, his heart having been touched by the kindness of his mistress.

St. Luke's tomb.

Before leaving Ephesus, I sank a deep hole below the pavement of the building which I believe to be St. Luke's tomb, in search of the vault in which the sarcophagus might be found, but I came across nothing beyond the foundations of the pavement; these were composed of small stones, and I did not succeed in reaching the vault, if there is one. I found, however, two shallow graves under the pavement, similar to those found in the quadrangle outside the building, having, like them, thin marble sides. These, I presume, may have been the graves of bishops of a later period, who were thus honoured in their final resting-place.

March 20.—I discharged all but two or three of my workmen, having obtained employment for them with Mr. de Cuyper. Among these were about a dozen men who had been with me for years, and I was anxious to leave them at work. But they had, it seems, become quite devoted to their employment at Ephesus, and would not leave before 'Chelebeh' (master), although they received no pay from me for the five or six days during which they remained after the works had been stopped. They had their clothes to wash, they said, before they could make their appearance before their new employer. One man (Aoushar Mehmet), who had acted so fearlessly in denoun-

Fidelity of Turkish workmen.

cing the Kiourt men during a previous season for almost murdering a fellow-workman, was so affected that he wept bitterly. So there are a few men with kind and impressible hearts even among the Turks, and here is a small tribute to their honour. There had been, however, in my employment from time to time some very bad men, who, as I have said, heartlessly robbed their fellow-workmen, and absconded with the plunder.

The two or three men left were employed in completing the destruction and examination of the church piers; but nothing more was found, and the works were finally altogether abandoned March 25th, much to my regret, as I feel sure we have left much of interest and value behind us beyond the margin of the present excavation. Works closed.

Feeling that I might never see Ephesus again, I hurriedly made a number of large sketches, some of which have served to illustrate this book. I had also a number of photographs taken by Corporal Trotman for the same purpose.

March 27.—The two sappers, Sergeant M'Kim and Corporal Trotman, left to-day for England. They had served me well, the sergeant for two seasons, the corporal for three. In reporting them to the Principal Librarian, I said: 'I cannot speak too highly of their conduct and the assistance they have unremittingly and invariably given me, or of the intelligence and assiduity with which they have carried on the works under my direction. They fully deserve the reward that may be accorded them, for they have exhibited the utmost patience and fortitude under the trying occupation in which they have been engaged.' The sappers.

This eulogium I am only too glad to repeat here. These men have since left the army, and the sergeant is now working at his trade as a carpenter, while the corporal is an attendant in the Medal Room at the British Museum.

Result of the season's work.

Notwithstanding the comparatively barren results of the season 1873–74, I had twenty-three cases and sixty-three loose blocks of marble to send home. Admiral Randolph entered the port of Smyrna April 8th, with five ships of war from Athens, where he had been detained a few days beyond the time which had been fixed for his departure by threatened disturbances. As Admiral Randolph's ships were not bound for either England or Malta, I made an arrangement with Mr. Paterson, a much-esteemed British merchant in Smyrna, and a most kind friend of mine, for the transport of my cases and marble blocks by one of the ships in which he was interested as the accredited agent. Admiral Randolph provided me with the necessary means in men, boats, and tackle for putting the antiquities on board the merchant vessel. Having seen this done, and having disposed of all my plant, we made arrangements for our final departure from Smyrna, and embarked on board H.M.S. 'Cockatrice,' a small gunboat commanded by Captain St. Clair, on the morning of April 14th, having accepted the captain's kind offer of a passage to Constantinople on our way to England. It may readily be believed that we did not leave either Ephesus or Smyrna, after a sojourn of so many years, without heartfelt regret. At Ephesus we planted the *Eucalyptus globulosa* (American gum-tree) on the top of the spoil banks which surround the great

Anti-quities shipped.

We leave for England.

excavation on the site of the Temple of Diana, and as we left the spot slowly and lingeringly we looked back frequently at the beautiful scene, which had had such a fascination for us, and which had been for so many years associated with our united labours.

Mrs. Wood's best exertions had been used in doing all she could to alleviate the sufferings of the workmen and the villagers, and her skill and care were proved by the fact that of hundreds of workmen only two or three were obliged to be sent down to Smyrna to be treated in the hospitals by skilled doctors.

As for me, the task I had set myself had been performed. The situation, plan, and particular characteristics of the long-lost Temple had been discovered, and all that remained of it within the area cleared out had been secured for our national collection of antiquities.

At Smyrna, where for so many years we had experienced so much kindness, we parted from our friends with deep regret, cheered, however, by the belief that we should one day return and see them all again, and perhaps renew the work so abruptly stopped, for had we not drunk freely of the Fasoolah water?[1]

[1] They say in Smyrna that all who drink the waters of this spring are sure to return to Smyrna sooner or later. The fact is that all people who have for any length of time breathed the fresh, light air of Smyrna, and have there found kind friends amongst the inhabitants, are glad to return, if only for a few days.

APPENDIX.

GREEK AND LATIN INSCRIPTIONS FROM EPHESUS

FOUND IN THE EXCAVATIONS.

1. Inscriptions from the Peribolus Wall of the Artemisium (Temple of Diana) and the Augusteum.
2. Inscriptions from the Temple of Diana (found in the Great Theatre).
3. Inscriptions from the site of the Temple of Diana.
4. Inscriptions from the Augusteum.
5. Inscriptions from the Odeum.
6. Inscriptions from the Great Theatre.
7. Inscriptions from Tombs, Sarcophagi, &c.
8. Inscriptions from the City and Suburbs.

N.B.—The underlining in the Inscriptions indicates suggested restorations of the text where lacunæ or imperfections occur on the stone.

No. 1.

Imp. Caesar divi f. Aug. cos. XII. tr. pot. XVIII. pontifex maximus, ex reditu Dianae fanum et Augusteum muro muniendum curavit, C. Asinio Gallo pro cos., curatore Sex. Lartidio leg.

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ υἱὸς Σεβαστὸς ὕπατος τὸ ιβ, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ιη, ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν τῆς θεοῦ προσόδων τὸν νεὼ καὶ τὸ Σεβαστῆον τιχισθῆναι[1] *προενοήθη ἐπὶ Γαίου Ἀσινίου Γάλλου ἀνθυπάτου, ἐπιμελήᾳ*[2] *Σέξτου Λαρτιδίου πρεσβευτοῦ.*

No. 2.

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ υἱὸς Σεβαστὸς ὕπατος τὸ ιβ, δημαχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ιη, στήλας ἱερὰς τῶν ὁδῶν καὶ ῥείθρων Ἀρτέμιδι ἀποκατέστησεν ἐπὶ Γαίου Ἀσινίου Γάλλου ἀνθυπάτου, ἐπιμελήᾳ[2] *Σέξτου Λαρτιδίου πρεσβευτοῦ, τὸ ῥεῖθρον ἔχει πλάτους πήχεις ιε.*

[1] i.e. *Σεβαστεῖον τειχισθῆναι.*

[2] i.e. *ἐπιμελείᾳ.*

No. 1.

The Emperor Caesar Augustus, son of a god, Consul for the twelfth time, with tribunitian power for the eighteenth time, chief Pontifex, caused the Temple of Diana and the Augusteum to be surrounded by a wall, the cost to be defrayed out of the revenues of the goddess Diana, in the time of C. Asinius Gallus, Pro-consul: Sextus Lartidius the legate had charge of the work.

No. 2.

The Emperor Caesar Augustus, son of a god, Consul for the twelfth time, with tribunitian power for the eighteenth time, erected to Artemis the sacred boundary-pillars of the roads and watercourses: in the time of C. Asinius Gallus, Pro-consul: Sextus Lartidius the legate had charge of the work: The watercourse is fifteen cubits wide.

No. 3.

Αὐτοκρατωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ υἱὸς Σεβαστὸς ὕπατος τὸ ιβ, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ιη, στήλας ἱερὰς τῶν ὁδῶν καὶ ῥείθρων Ἀρτέμιδι ἀποκατέστησεν ἐπὶ Γαίου Ἀσινίου Γάλλου ἀνθυπάτου. ἐπιμελήα Σέξτου Λαρτιδίου πρεσβευτοῦ. ἡ ὁδὸς ἔχει σὺν τῷ ῥείθρῳ τοῦ ποτἄμοῦ πήχεις λ.

No. 3.

TRANSLATION.

The Emperor Caesar Augustus, son of a god, Consul for the twelfth time, with tribunitian power for the eighteenth time, erected to Artemis the sacred boundary-pillars of the roads and watercourses : in the time of C. Asinius Gallus, Pro-consul : Sextus Lartidius the legate had charge of the work. The road with the watercourse of the river is thirty cubits wide.

INSCRIPTIONS

FROM THE

TEMPLE OF DIANA

(*Found in the Great Theatre*)

No. 1.

Ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ. Δίων Διοπείθους εἶπεν. ἐπειδὴ Ἀγαθοκλῆς Ἡγήμονος Ῥόδιος σῖτον εἰσαγαγὼν εἰς τὴμ πόλιν, πυρῶν ἑκτεῖς[1] μυρίους | τετρακισχιλίους, καὶ καταλαβὼν τὸν σῖτον τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ πωλούμε|νομ πλέονος δραχμῶν[2] [?] πεισθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγορανόμου καὶ βουλόμενος | χαρίζεσθαι τῷ δήμῳ, ἐπώλησε τὸν σῖτον πάντα εὐωνότερον τοῦ ἐν | τῇ ἀγορᾷ πωλουμένου, δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ δοῦναι Ἀγαθοκλῇ | Ῥοδίῳ πολιτείαν ἐφ' ἴσῃ[3] καὶ ὁμοίᾳ, καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκγόνοις. ἐπικληρῶσαι δὲ | αὐτὸν τοὺς Ἐσσῆνας[4] εἰς φυλὴγ καὶ χιλιαστὺγ καὶ ἀναγράψαι αὐτῷ ταῦ|τα τοὺς νεωποίας[5] εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, οὗ καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς πολιτείας | ἀναγράφουσιν. ὅπως ἅπαντες[6] εἰδῶσιν ὅτι ὁ δῆμος ἐπίσταται χάριτας ἀπο|διδόναι τοῖς εὐεργετοῦσιν αὐτόν. ἔλαχε φυλὴμ Βεμβίνης,· χιλιαστὺν[8] Αἰγώτεος.

[1] ἑκτεῖς. The ἑκτεύς was the sixth part of a μέδιμνος, the Attic corn measure (= about 12 gallons).

[2] δραχμῶν [?]. After δρ. the stone exhibits the characters EX Ⅎ.

[3] ἐφ' ἴσῃ. See Le Bas and Waddington, *Voyage Archéologique*, inscr. 136 *a*, and note; also inscr. 87: ἀφ' ἴσου. Fritzsche (*Libri Apocr.* p. 408) gives ἐφ' ἴσης

No. 1

Resolved by the Council and the People.

Dion, son of Diopeithes, moved, That whereas Agathocles, son of Hegêmon, of Rhodes, having imported a quantity of corn into the city, fourteen thousand measures of wheat, and finding that the corn in the market was being sold at more than [?] drachmæ, persuaded by the Superintendent of the market, and wishing to please the People, sold all his corn cheaper than that which was being sold in the market: it be hereby resolved by the Council and the People to grant citizenship to Agathocles of Rhodes, upon equal and similar terms, to himself and to his descendants: further, that the Essênes[1] allot him a place in a tribe and a thousand, and that the Temple-wardens inscribe these [grants] in his honour in the Temple of Artemis where they inscribe the rest of the grants of citizenship; to the end that all

[1] Officials so called.

as the reading of a MS. in Sir. ix. 10. Cf. Tischendorf, prolegg. in N. T. p. iii. The phrase ἐφ' ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ implies the admission of the new citizen to equal rights and a similar position in the State with the rest of the citizens of Ephesus.

4 **τοὺς Ἐσσῆνας.** Paus. viii. 13. τοὺς τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἱστιάτορας τῇ Ἐφεσίᾳ γινομένους, καλουμένους δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν Ἐσσῆνας. Etym. Magn. s. v. Ἐσσῆνες κατὰ Ἐφεσίους ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τοῦ μελιττῶν βασιλέως. See Müller's *Dorians*, ii. 9; King (C. W.), *Gnostics and their Remains*, pp. 2, 171.

5 **τοὺς νεωποιας.** Νεωποιης [νεωποιος] 'ein Obrigkeit in a. griech. Städten in Kleinasien welche den Bau u. die Erhaltung der Tempel zu besorgen hatte' (Pape and Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griech. Eigennamen*). Cf. Le Bas, inscr. 152: αἵδε ἐνεωποίησαν αὐθαίρετοι. § 161: νεωποιὸν τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει νεωποιήσαντα σὺν τῷ ἀδελφῷ. Bailie, *Fasc. Inscr. Græc.* ii. p. 21: ἀρχιγεωποιοῦ νεωποιῶν τῆς ἐπιφανεστάτης θεοῦ Ἀφροδίτης.

6 **ἅπαντες,** Inscr. ΑΠΑΤΕΣ.

7 **συνλήμ Βεμβίνης.** Steph. Byz. counts five Ephesian *phylæ*: ἐστι δὲ καὶ ἡ

No. 2.

Ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ. Βρόταχος[1] Πλάτωνος εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Λεύκιππος Ἑρμογένους Ὀλύνθιος πᾶσαν εὔνοιαν καὶ προθυμίαν παρέχεται | καὶ κοινῇ τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ ἰδίᾳ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι τῶν πολιτῶν· δεδόχθαι τῇ | βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ δοῦναι Λευκίππῳ πολιτείαν, αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκγόνοις, ἐφ' ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ· ἐπικληρῶσαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ

1 Βρόταχος. Cf. Bergk. *Poet. Lyr. Græc.* p. 783 (Simonides, 127: Κεῖνος νέεσσι Βρότυχος Γορτύνιος ἐνθάδε κεῖται.

may know that the People understands how to repay with its favours those who render it service.

Admitted into the Bembinean tribe and the Ægotean thousand.

Βέννη, Βέννιοι· οἱ δὲ ἐν Εὐωνύμῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, Εὐώνυμοι· οὓς δ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ κατέλαβον, Ἐφεσίους φασί· τοὺς δὲ ὕστερον ἐπηλύδας, Τηΐους καὶ Καρινᾶίους ἀποκαλοῦσι. The Euonymi, Ephesii, Teii, and Carinaei are mentioned in these inscriptions; but for Βέννιοι, inscrr. 1, 12 and 16 seem to offer Βεμβινεῖς (Βέμβινα, κώμη τῆς Νεμέας, Steph. B.).

[8] χιλιαστύν. Le Bas, inscr. 136 *a*, note: 'une division de la tribu, comme ἑκαστοστύς et τριττύς. On disait aussi χιλιοστύς.' Cf. Etym. M. *s. v.* στρατός: ὁ τῶν χιλίων [ἀνδρῶν ἀριθμὸς καλεῖται] χιλιοστύς.

No. 2.

Resolved by the Council and the People.

Brotachus, son of Plato, moved, That whereas Leucippus, son of Hermogenes, of Olynthus, manifests all goodwill and devotion both to the People at large and individually to those of the citizens who have intercourse with him: it be hereby resolved by the Council and the People to grant citizenship to Leucippus, on equal and similar terms, to himself and to his descendants,

εἰς φυλὴγ καὶ χιλιαστύν· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸ | ψήφισμα τοὺς νεωποίας εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, ὅπου καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς | πολιτείας ἀναγράφουσιν. ἔλαχε φυλὴν Τῆϊος, χιλιαστὺν Ἡγητόρειος.

No. 3.

Ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ. Πίνδαρος Δωροθέου εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Ἀπολλώνιος Κόνωνος Μάγνης πᾶσαν εὔνοιαν καὶ προθυμίαν παρεχόμενος διατελεῖ καὶ κοινῇ εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἐφεσίων καὶ ἰδίᾳ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι τῶν πολιτῶν | . . . . . .

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and to allot him a place in a tribe and a thousand; and further that this decree be inscribed by the Temple-wardens in the Temple of Artemis where they inscribe the rest of the grants of citizenship.

Admitted into the Teian tribe and the Hegetorean thousand.

No. 3.

Resolved by the People.

Pindar son of Dorotheus moved, That whereas Apollonius [?], son of Conon [?], of Magnesia, continues to manifest all good-will and loyalty, both towards the Ephesian People at large and individually to those of the citizens who have intercourse with him

. . . . . .

No. 4.

. . . . . ἀποστεῖλαι δὲ αὐτῷ
καὶ ξένια τὸν οἰκονόμον·[1] ὅπως ἅπαντες εἰδῶσιν ὅτι
τοὺς εὐνοιαμ παρεχομένους εἰς τὰ πράγματα τῆς
πόλεως τιμᾷ ὁ δῆμος κατὰ τὸ προσῆκον· ἔλαχε φυλὴν . . . . . .
χιλιαστὺν Ἐχύρεος.

[1] *τὸν οἰκονόμον sc. τῆς πόλεως* [or *τῆς βουλῆς*?]. See No. 8.

No. 5.

Ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ . . . . . .
εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Ἀρτεμίδωρος . . . . . καὶ . . . . .
Ἀπολλοδώρου Περίνθιος . . . . . λα-
βόντες εὖνοι εἰσὶ τῷ δήμῳ . . . . . .
πράττοντες ἀεὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν . . . . . .
τῆς οἰκειότητος τῆς ὑπαρχούσης . . . . . .
ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ . . . . . .

No. 4.

. . . . . and that the Treasurer send him pledges of friendship . . . . to the intent all men may know that the People appropriately honours those who manifest goodwill towards the interests of the city.

Admitted into the . . . . . tribe and the Echyrean thousand.

No. 5.

Resolved by the Council and the People.

. . . . . moved, That whereas Artemidorus, son of . . . . . ., of . . . . . ., and . . . . . ., son of Apollodorus of Perinthus . . . . . [?], are friendly to the People, always promoting its advantage . . . . . of [?] the relation which exists . . . . . it be hereby resolved by the Council and the People, with the favour of Heaven. . . . . .

No. 6.

. . . ἔλαχε φυλὴν Τήϊος, χιλιαστὺν Γητόρειος.[1]

[1] *Sic* [? error for ΗΓΗΤΟΡΕΙΟΣ : cf. No. 2].

No. 7.

Ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ. Φιλαίνετος Φιλόφρονος εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ | Νικαγόρας Ἀριστάρχου Ῥόδιος, ἀποσταλεὶς παρὰ τῶμ βασιλέων Δημητρίου | καὶ Σελεύκου πρός τε τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἐφεσίων καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας, | κατασταθεὶς εἰς τὸν δῆμον περί τε τῆς οἰκειότητος τῆς γεγενημένης | αὐτοῖς διελέχθη, καὶ περὶ τῆς εὐνοίας ἣν ἔχοντες διατελοῦσιν εἰς | τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ τὴμ φιλίαν τὴμ πρότερον ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτῷ | πρὸς τὴμ πόλιν ἀνενεώσατο· δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ | ἐπαινέσαι τε Νικαγόραν ἐπὶ τῇ εὐνοίᾳ ἣν ἔχων διατελεῖ πρὸς τοὺς | βασιλεῖς καὶ τὸν δῆμον, καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸγ χρυσέῳ στεφάνῳ, | καὶ ἀναγγεῖλαι τοῖς Ἐφεσείοις[1] ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ· δοῦναι δὲ καὶ πολι-

[1] τοῖς Ἐφεσείοις. Steph. Byz. : εὕρηται καὶ Ἐφέσεια διὰ διφθόγγου· οὕτω γὰρ ἐν Ἀλεξάνδρᾳ Σοφοκλῆς. On these games see Thuc. iii. 104 : ξύν τε γὰρ γυναιξὶ καὶ

No. 6.

[Admitted into the Teian tribe and] the [He]getorean thousand.

No. 7.

Resolved by the Council and People.

Philænetus, son of Philophron, moved, That whereas Nicagoras, son of Aristarchus, of Rhodes, when sent from Kings Demetrius and Seleucus to the People of Ephesus and the other Hellênes, appeared before the People, and addressed them on the friendly relations which have been established, and on the goodwill which the Kings continue to bear towards the Hellênes, and renewed the alliance which formerly existed between himself and this city: it be hereby resolved by the Council and the People to commend Nicagoras for the goodwill which he continues to bear towards the Kings and the People, and to crown him with a crown of gold,

τείαν | ἐφ' ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίῃ καθάπερ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς εὐεργέταις· ὑπάρχειν δὲ αὐτῷ | προεδρίαν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν, καὶ εἴσπλουν καὶ ἔκπλουν, καὶ ἐμ πολέμῳ | καὶ εἰρήνῃ· καὶ ἀτέλειαν ὧν ἂν εἰσάγῃ ἢ ἐξάγῃ ἢ εἰς τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον | ἢ εἰς ἀγοράν· καὶ εἴσοδον πρὸς τὴμ βουλὴγ καὶ τὸμ δῆμομ πρώτῳ μετὰ τὰ ἱερά· ταῦτα δὲ εἶναι | αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκγόνοις· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὰς δεδομένας αὐτῷ δωρεὰς τοὺς νεωποίας | ὅπου καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀναγράφουσιν· ἐπικληρῶσαι δὲ αὐτὸγ καὶ εἰς φυλὴγ καὶ εἰς | χιλιαστύν· ὅπως ἅπαντες εἰδῶσιν ὅτι ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἐφεσίων | τιμᾷ τοὺς εἰς τὰ αὐτοῦ πράγματα προθύμους ὄντας | δωρεαῖς ταῖς προσηκούσαις· ἀποστεῖλαι δὲ καὶ ξένια αὐτῷ τὸν | δῆμον. ἔλαχε φυλὴν Ἐφεσεύς,[2] χιλιαστὺν Λεβέδιος.

παισὶν ἐθεώρουν, ὥσπερ νῦν ἐς τὰ Ἐφέσια Ἴωνες. Cf. Chandler, *Inscr. Antiq.* i. 36: δεδόχθαι καθ' ὅλον τὸν μῆνα τὸν Ἀρτεμισιῶνα εἶναι ἱερὰς τὰς ἡμέρας, ἄγεσθαι δὲ ἐν αὐταῖς τὰς ἑορτὰς . . . ἅτε τοῦ μηνὸς ὅλου ἱεροῦ ὄντος τούτου τῇ θεῷ.

[2] Ἐφεσεύς. Etym. M. : τὸ ἐθνικὸν, Ἐφεσεύς. Steph. Byz. : λέγεται καὶ Ἐφεσεύς, ὡς Ταρσός, Ταρσεύς· 'Eine Phyle in Ephesos führte insbesondere den Namen Ἐφέσιοι' (Pape, cf. No. 1, note 5).

and to proclaim the crown in the Theatre at the Ephesian festival; and, further, to grant citizenship to him upon equal and similar terms as to the rest of their benefactors; and that he enjoy the privilege of occupying a front seat at the Games, and of entering or leaving the harbour at pleasure alike in war and peace, and of exemption from duty on all goods which he may import or export, whether for his own family or for market [?], and of admission to the assemblies of the Council and the People first after the sacred rites—these distinctions to belong to himself and to his descendants. Moreover, that the grants which have now been made to him be inscribed by the Temple-wardens where they inscribe other like grants, and that they allot him a place in a tribe and to a thousand, to the end that all may know that the People of Ephesus honours with appropriate gifts those who are loyal to its interests. And also that the People send him pledges of their friendship.

Admitted into the Ephesian tribe and the Lebedian thousand.

No. 8.

. . . . . .

τυγχάνει περὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ τὴμ πόλιν
ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ· δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ συνησθέντι τοῖς
γενομένοις ἀγαθοῖς τυῖς βασιλέως καὶ τοῖς . . . . . .
καὶ στεφανηφορεῖν Ἐφεσίους καὶ τοὺς κατοίκους
ἐπὶ τοῖς εὐτυχήμασιν τοῖς ἐξηγγελμένοις, καὶ θύειν
εὐαγγέλια τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τοὺς Ἐσσῆνας καὶ τὸν τῆς πό-
λεως οἰκονόμον[1] καὶ εὔχεσθαι· καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν ἐγ-
γίνεσθαι Δημητρίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ
καὶ Ἀντιγόνῳ καὶ Δημητρίῳ τοὺς στεφάνους
φορεῖν· τοῦ δὲ ἀναλώματος τοῦ εἰς τὴν θυσίαν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι
τὸν οἰκονόμον· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλώνιον,
τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἀναγγείλαντα τὴν εὔνοιαν
προθύμως τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ ἣν ἔχει αὐτὸς πρὸς τὸμ βασιλέα
καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἐφεσίων καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν χρυσέῳ στεφάνῳ
χρυσέων εἴκοσι· τοῦ δὲ στεφάνου ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τὸν οἰκονόμον.

[1] τὸν [τῆς πόλεως] οἰκονόμον. Cf. Rom. xvi. 23. Or, τὸν [τῆς βουλῆς] οἰκ. Bailie, ii. p. 21.

No. 8.

. . . . . .

[That whereas . . . .] fortune favours the Hellênes and this city: it be hereby resolved by the People, gratified at the good offices of the King and of . . . . . ., that garlands be worn both by Ephesians and by residents in honour of the happy events which have been announced, and that sacrifices to celebrate the good tidings and prayers be offered to Artemis by the Essênes and the Treasurer of the city; and that for the future it be permitted to King Demetrius and the People and to Antigonus and Demetrius to wear their garlands [?]: the Treasurer to provide for the expenses of the sacrifice. That it be also resolved to commend Apollonius, who loyally reported to the People the goodwill entertained towards them by the King, and that which he himself bears to the King and the People of Ephesus, and to crown him with a crown of gold weighing twenty staters, the Treasurer to defray the cost of the crown. Moreover, that the Council and the People grant citizenship to him as to their other benefactors, and the privilege of occupying a front seat at the

δοῦναι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ πολιτείαν
καθάπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐεργέταις
τὴμ βουλὴγ καὶ τὸν δῆμον, καὶ προεδρίαν ἐν τοῖς
ἀγῶσι, καθάπερ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς εὐεργέταις· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὰς
δεδομένας αὐτῷ δωρεὰς τοὺς νεωποίας, ὅπου καὶ ἀναγράφουσι
τὰς ἄλλας πολιτείας . . . . . .

No. 9.

. . . . . .
καὶ ἰδίᾳ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι τῶν πολιτῶν, καθότι ἂν ἕκαστος αὐτὸν
προσκαλέσηται· δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἐπαινέσαι . . | . . . . .
. . ριδαιον [?] ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν χρυσέῳ
στεφάνῳ· δοῦναι δὲ | πολιτείαν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκγόνοις ἐφ' ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ
καθάπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐεργέταις· ἐπικληρῶσαι δὲ αὐτὸν | τοὺς
Ἐσσῆνας εἰς φυλὴν καὶ χιλιαστύν, ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τοὺς
νεωποίας εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμι|δος οὗ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πολιτείας
ἀναγράφουσι. ἔλαχε φυλὴγ Καρηναῖος[1] [?], χιλιαστὺν . . . . . .

[1] Καρηναῖος. Καρήνη [Καρίνη] πόλις Μυσίας. Steph. Byz. See No. 1, note 5, and cf. *Dict. of Geogr.* i. 516.

Games as to the rest of their benefactors; and that the Temple-wardens inscribe the grants which have now been made to him where they inscribe the other grants of citizenship . . . . . .

No. 9.

. . . . . and individually to those of the citizens who have intercourse with him, according as each may have invited his aid: it be hereby resolved by the Council and People to commend . . . . . [?] for his merit and good-will, and to crown him with a crown of gold; furthermore to grant citizenship to himself and to his descendants on equal and similar terms as to their other benefactors; and, moreover, that the Essenes allot him a place in a tribe and a thousand, and that the Temple-wardens inscribe this decree in the Temple of Artemis where they inscribe the other grants of citizenship.

Admitted into the Carenæan [?] tribe and the . . . . . thousand.

No. 10.

Ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ. Ζώπυρος εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Ζώϊλος Ἀ . . . . . | Ἐλαΐτης,[1] διατρίβων ἐν τῇ πόλει, εὔνουν καὶ πρόθυμον ἑαυτὸν παρέχεται καὶ κοινῇ τῷ δήμῳ | καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τοῖς ἐγτυγ-χάνουσιν[2]· δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ δοῦναι πολιτείαν | αὐτῷ ἐφ' ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίῃ καθάπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐεργέταις, ἐπικληρῶσαι δὲ | αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς φυλὴν καὶ χιλιαστύν· ταῦτα δὲ ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκγόνοις. | ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα τοὺς νεωποίας ὅπου καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς πολιτείας ἀνα|γράφουσιν, ὅπως ἅπαντες εἰδῶσιν ὅτι ὁ δῆμος τιμᾷ τοὺς εὐεργετοῦντας αὐτόν. | ἔλαχε φυλὴν Ἐφεσεύς, χιλιαστὺν Βωρεύς.[3]

[1] Ἐλαΐτης. Paus. v. 24 : Ἐλαϊτῶν . . οἳ καταβάντι ἐκ Καϊκοῦ πεδίου ἐς θάλασσαν πρῶτοι τῇ Αἰολίδι οἰκοῦσι.

[2] *Sic.*

[3] Βωρεύς. The same name was borne by a tribe at Cyzicus. Böckh, inscrr. 3663–6 (cited by Pape).

No. 10.

Resolved by the Council and the People.

Zopyrus moved, That whereas Zoilus, son of A——, of Elæa, now living in this city, proves himself friendly and loyal to the interests of the People in general, and of such private citizens as have intercourse with him: it be hereby resolved by the Council to grant him citizenship upon equal and similar terms as to other public benefactors, and further, to allot him a place both in a tribe and a thousand—these privileges to belong to himself and to his descendants. Resolved also that the Temple-wardens inscribe this decree where they inscribe the rest of the grants of citizenship, to the end that all may know that the People honours those who render it service.

Admitted into the Ephesian tribe and the Borean thousand.

No. 11.

Ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ. Εὔπαλος Κρονίου εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Λυσικῶν Εὐμήλου Θηβαῖος πρόθυμον ἑαυτὸν πα-|ρέχεται καὶ κοινῇ τῷ δήμῳ καὶ ἰδίᾳ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι τῶμ πολιτῶν, καθότι ἂν ἕκαστος αὐτὸν προσκαλέσηται· δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ | καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἐπαινέσαι τε Λυσικῶντα ἀρετῆς ἕνεκε[1] καὶ εὐνοίας, καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν χρυσέῳ στεφάνῳ τὸν | ἀγωνοθέτην τοῖς Διονυσίοις[2] ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ· δοῦναι δὲ καὶ πολιτείαν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκγόνοις, ἐφ' ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίῃ· καὶ εἴσοδον εἰς | τὴμ βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον μετὰ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ βασίλεα[3] πρώτῳ, καὶ εἴσπλουν καὶ ἔκπλουν καὶ ἐμ πολέμῳ καὶ εἰρήνῃ· | ἐπικληρῶσαι δὲ τοὺς νεωποίας αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς φυλὴν καὶ εἰς χιλιαστύν . . . . . .

[1] ἕνεκε. Cf. Böckh, 658 : ἀρετᾶς ἕνεκε (Steph. *Thes.* ed. Hase, *s.* ἕνεκα).

[2] τοῖς Διωνυσίοις. The Dionysia were celebrated at Athens, Argos, Corcyra, Tarentum, Naucratis, Pangæus, Paros (Pape). Ephesus must now be added to the list.

[3] τὰ βασίλεα [= βασίλεια]. Le Bas, inscr. 87 : μετὰ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ βασιλικά.

No. 11.

Resolved by the Council and the People.

Eupalus, son of Cronius, moved, That whereas Lysicon, son of Eumelus, of Thebes, proves himself loyal to the People at large, and individually to those of the citizens who have intercourse with him, according as each may have invited his aid: it be hereby resolved by the Council and the People to commend Lysicon for his merit and goodwill, and that he be crowned with a crown of gold by the President of the Games in the Theatre at the festival of Dionysus; further, that citizenship be granted to him and to his descendants, upon equal and similar terms, and the privilege of entering the assemblies of the Council and the People first after the sacred and the royal rites, and of entering or leaving the harbour at pleasure both in war and peace. Resolved also that the Temple-wardens allot him a place both in a tribe and in a thousand . . . . . .

No. 12.

Ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ. Ἀρτέμων Μητράδος[1] [?] εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Θρασύμαχος | Ποσειδωνίου Μάγνης πρότερον διετέλει πρόθυμος καὶ εὔνους ὢν τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ νῦν | τοῦ πολέμου γενομένου κατὰ τὴμ πόλιν καὶ ἀναλισκομένων σωμάτων | τῶν καὶ ἐλευθέρων καὶ οἰκετικῶν, πᾶσαν παρεῖχετο προθυμίαμ εἰς τὰ συμφέροντα | τῶμ πολιτῶγ καὶ τοὺς μὲν διέσῳζεν[2] τῷ ἰδίῳ ἀναλώματι, τοὺς δὲ | ἀπέστειλεν τοῖς προσήκουσιν βουλομένους ἀπιέναι· δεδόχθαι | τοῖς παραγινομένοις τῶμ πολιτῶν δοῦναι Θρασυμάχῳ | Ποσειδωνίου Μάγνητι πολιτείαν, αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκγόνοις, ἐφ' ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοία, καὶ | ἀναγράψαι τοὺς νεωποίας τὰ δοθέντα αὐτῷ ὅπου | καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ πολιτεῖαι εἰσὶν ἀναγεγραμμέναι· | καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἐφεσίων χάριτας ἀποδιδοῖ Θρασυμάχῳ καὶ τὴμ | πολιτείαν τῶν εὐεργετημάτων ἕνεκεν, ἐπικληροῖ δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς φυλὴγ καὶ | χιλιαστύν. ἔλαχε φυλὴν Βεμβίνης, χιλιαστὺν . . . . . .

[1] Μητράδος. So the inscr., apparently.

[2] διέσῳζεν. On the forms σῴζω, σῴζω, see Etym. M. *s. v.* Lipsius, *Die biblische Gräcität*, p. 9, note.

No. 12.

Resolved by the Council and the People.

Artemon, son of Metras [?], moved, That whereas Thrasymachus, son of Poseidonius, of Magnesia, was ever in former days loyal and friendly to the People, and now when the war befell the city, and the lives of freemen as well as slaves were being sacrificed, he manifested all zeal for the welfare of the citizens, and at his own cost got some of them safe through, and sent others home to their friends on their wishing to return: it be hereby resolved by such of the citizens as are now present to grant citizenship to Thrasymachus son of Poseidonius of Magnesia, to himself and to his descendants, on equal and similar terms, and that the Temple-wardens inscribe the grants now made to him where the rest of such grants of citizenship have been inscribed. Moreover the Ephesian People, in addition to conferring citizenship, offers its thanks to Thrasymachus for his good services, and allots him a place in a tribe and a thousand.

Admitted into the Bembinean tribe and the . . . . . thousand.

No 13.

. . . . . ἐπειδὴ Νικήρατος

. . . . . ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ εἶναι

αὐτὸν πολίτην . . . . . καθάπερ καὶ δέδοται τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐεργέταις.[1]

[1] *Inscr.* ΕΟΕΡΓΕΤΑΙΣ.

No. 14.

. . . . . ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ

. . . . . εὔνοιαν καὶ προθυμίαν

. . . . . ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ

. . . . . στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν χρυσέῳ

στεφάνῳ . . . . . ὅπως ἂν πάντες εἰδῶσιν ὅτι ὁ δῆμος

. . . . . ον τοὺς νεωποίας

. . . . . .

No. 13.

[Grant of citizenship to Niceratus, as a public benefactor.]

No. 14.

[Vote of thanks and grant of a gold crown to some benefactor: name lost.]

No. 15.

. . . . . εὔνοιαν καὶ
προθυμίαν . . . . . αι· δεδόχθαι τῇ
βουλῇ . . . . . αὐτὸν τοὺς Ἐσσῆνας
. . . . . ἀναγράφονται

No. 16.

Ἔλαχε φυλὴν Βεμβινέων, χιλιαστὺν . . . . . .

No. 17.

Εὐθυδάμῳ Εὐμήδους Ἀρκαδι ἐκ Καφυᾶν ἡ Ἐφεσίων βουλή. Πύρων εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Εὐθύδαμος | πρόθυμος ἐστὶ περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἐφεσίων, ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ εἶναι αὐτὸν πολίτην καὶ | πρόξενον, καὶ ἐκγόνους, καθάπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐεργέταις δέδοται. ἔλαχε φυλὴν | Καρηναῖος, χιλιοστὺν Ἀλθαιμενεύς.

No. 15.

[Grant of citizenship to a benefactor: name lost.]

No. 16.

Admitted into the tribe of the Bembineans, and into the thousand . . . . . .

No. 17.

The Council of Ephesus to Euthydamus, son of Eumedes, of Caphyæ in Arcadia.

Pyron moved, That whereas Euthydamus is loyal towards the People of Ephesus, it is resolved by the People that he be a citizen and a *proxenos*, and his descendants [likewise], according to the privilege which has been granted to their other benefactors.

Admitted into the Carenæan tribe and into the Althæmenean thousand.

No. 18.

Ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ. Ἐπικράτης [?] εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Ἀντιφῶν Ἀντιμένοντος[1] Ἱστιαιεύς,[2] | πρόθυμος ὢν εἰς τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἐφεσίων, καταστὰς εἰς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον | αἰτεῖται πολιτείαν· δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ δοῦναι αὐτῷ πολιτείαν ἐφ' ἴσῃ | καὶ ὁμοίῃ· ἐπικληρῶσαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς φυλὴν καὶ χιλιαστύν· καὶ ἀναγράψαι ὅπου καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ | πολιτεῖαι ἀναγεγραμμέναι εἰσί. ἔλαχε φυλὴν Ἐφεσεύς, χιλιαστὺν Ἀργαδεύς.

[1] Ἀντιμένοντος. 'Manns. att. Grabstele im Φιλόπατρις vom 10 April, 1859' (Pape).

[2] Ἱστιαιεύς [?]. Inscr. ΙΣΤΙΑΙΕΙ [?].

No. 19.

Ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ. Ἡρογείτων εἶπεν· περὶ ὧν οἱ νεωποῖαι καὶ οἰκουρῆτες[1] κατασταθέντες διελέχθησαν | τῇ βουλῇ, καὶ

[1] οἰκουρῆτες. i.q. οἰκοφύλακες [Æsch. *Supp.*: Ζεὺς . . οἰκοφύλαξ ὁσίων ἀνδρῶν]. Cf. Ar. *Lys.* 759: τὸν ὄφιν τὸν οἰκουρόν = τὸν τῆς Πολιάδος φύλακα (Phot. lex. *s.* οἰκουρός).

No. 18.

Resolved by the Council and the People.

Epicrates [?] moved, That whereas Antiphon, son of Antimenon of Histiæa [?], being loyal to the People of Ephesus, appears before the Council and the People and asks for citizenship: it be hereby resolved by the Council and the People to grant him citizenship upon equal and similar terms; furthermore, to allot him a place in a tribe and in a thousand, and to inscribe [this grant] where the rest of the grants of citizenship have been inscribed.

Admitted into the Ephesian tribe, and into the Argadean thousand.

No. 19.

Resolved by the Council and the People.

Herogeiton moved, That, in the matter upon which the Temple-wardens and custodians came forward and addressed the Council, and produced a vote from the Senate and the Privy

τὸ ψήφισμα ἤνεγκαν τῆς γερουσίας[2] καὶ τῶν ἐπικλήτων[3] ὑπὲρ Εὐφρονίου πολιτείας· δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ· | ἐπειδὴ Εὐφρόνιος Ἡγήμονος Ἀκαρνὰν πρότερόν τε εὔνους ὢν καὶ πρόθυμος διετέλει περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἐφεσίων, καὶ νῦν | ἀποσταλείσης πρεσβείας πρὸς Πρεπέλαον[4] ὑπὸ τῆς γερουσίης καὶ τῶν ἐπικλήτων ὑπὲρ τοῦ σταθμοῦ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τῆς ἀτελεί-|ας τῇ θεῷ, συνδιώκησεν[5] μετὰ τῆς πρεσβείας ὅπως ἂν ἡ ἀτέλεια ὑπάρχῃ τῇ θεῷ, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐν ἅπασι καιροῖς διατελεῖ | χρήσιμος ὢν καὶ κοινῇ τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ ἰδίᾳ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι τῶμ πολιτῶν· ἐγνῶσθαι ἐπαινέσαι τε Εὐφρόνιον εὐνοίας ἕνεκεν | ἣν ἔχει περί τε τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὴμ πόλιν· καὶ δοῦναι αὐτῷ πολιτείαν ἐφ' ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίῃ, αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκγόνοις· ἀναγράψαι δὲ αὐτῷ τὴμ | πολιτείαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέ-μιδος, οὗ καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ πολιτεῖαι ἀναγεγραμμέναι εἰσίν· ἐπικληρῶσαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς φυλὴν καὶ εἰς | χιλιαστύν· ὅπως ἂν εἰδῶσι πάντες ὅτι

[2] *γερουσίας* [infr. l. 7, *γερουσίης*]. Strab. xiv. 1: *ἦν δὲ γερουσία καταγραφομένη· τούτοις δὲ συνῆσαν οἱ ἐπίκλητοι καλούμενοι καὶ διῴκουν πάντα.* He is speaking of the time of Lysimachus, see *Dict. of Geogr.* i. 837, where Mr. Long adds, 'We may conclude that it [Ephesus] had a Boule and also a Demos, or popular assembly'—a conjecture abundantly confirmed by these inscriptions. For *γερουσία*, as distinct from *βουλή* in the Asiatic cities, see Bailie, i. 169; ii. 19: *ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ γερουσία.* Le Bas, inscr. 141: *καθιέρωσαν δὲ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ ἀργύριον . . . ὁμοίως καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ.*

[3] *ἐπικλήτων.* See last note; and cf. Herod. viii. 101: *ἐβουλεύετο ἅμα Περσέων τοῖσι ἐπικλήτοισι.*

[4] Πρεπέλαον. Diod. Sic. xx. 107 [B.C. 302?].

[5] Inscr. ΣΥΝΔΙΟΓΚΗΣΕΝ, an error for ΣΥΝΔΙΩΙΚΗΣΕΝ [?].

Councillors touching the granting of citizenship to Euphronius: Whereas Euphronius, son of Hegêmon, of Acarnania, was ever in former days friendly and loyal towards the People of Ephesus; and of late, on occasion of an embassy being sent to Prepelaus by the Senate and the Privy-Councillors on the subject of the sacred balances and exemption from duty, he joined the embassy in arranging that the goddess should have the proposed exemption; and whereas in all other respects he is at all seasons serviceable both to the People at large and individually to such of the citizens as have intercourse with him: it be hereby determined to commend Euphronius for the goodwill which he entertains towards the Temple and the City, and to grant him citizenship on equal and similar terms, to belong to himself and to his descendants: furthermore, that the grant of citizenship be inscribed in his honour in the Temple of Artemis where the rest of such grants have been inscribed, and that he be allotted a place both in a tribe and in a thousand, to the end all men may know that the People of Ephesus honours with appropriate gifts those who render service to the Temple and the City.

Admitted into the Ephesian tribe and the Argadean thousand.

ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἐφεσίων τοὺς εὐεργετοῦντας τό τε ἱερὸν καὶ τὴμ πόλιν τιμᾷ δωρεαῖς ταῖς προσηκούσαις. | ἔλαχε φυλὴν Ἐφεσεύς, χιλιαστὺν Ἀργαδεύς.

No. 20.

. . . . . .

δοῦναι αὐτῷ πολιτείαν . . . . . ἔλαχε φυλὴν . . . . . .

χιλιαστὺι Χηλώνεος.

No. 21.

Ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ . . . . . εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ . . . . . πρόθυμος | ἐστὶ καὶ εὔνους τῷ δήμῳ καὶ ἰδίᾳ τῷ ἐντυγχάνοντι τῶν πολιτῶν | ὧν ἂν δείηται[1] προθυμίης οὐθὲμ φειδόμενος· δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ δοῦναι | αὐτῷ πολιτείαν ἐφ' ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίῃ καθάπερ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς εὐεργέταις, καὶ αὐτῷ | καὶ ἐκγόνοις· ἐπικληρῶσαι δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς φυλὴν καὶ χιλιαστύν. ἔλαχε φυλὴν . . . . . χιλιαστὺν Σιμώνεος.

[1] δείηται. For this form, cf. Franz, *Elem. Epigraph. Græc.* p. 150.

No. 20.

. . . . . .

to grant him citizenship . . . . . .

Admitted into the . . . . . tribe and the Chelonean thousand.

No. 21.

Resolved by the Council and the People.

. . . . . moved, That whereas . . . . . is loyal and friendly to the People and individually to any one of the citizens who has intercourse with him, sparing no endeavour to do whatever he may require : it be hereby resolved by the Council and the People to grant citizenship to him on equal and similar terms, to belong to himself and to his descendants, and, furthermore, to allot him a place in a tribe and a thousand.

Admitted into the . . . . . tribe and the Simonean thousand.

No. 22.

Διόδωρος εἶπεν· Ἀμφικτύων Ἰάσονος Μυτιληναῖος ἐπειδὴ πρόθυμον καὶ εὔνουν ἑαυτὸν παρέχεται καὶ κοινῇ τῷ δήμῳ | καὶ ἰδίᾳ περὶ τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας τῶν πολιτῶν· δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ δοῦναι αὐτῷ πολιτείαν | ἐφ' ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίῃ· ἐπικληρῶσαι δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς φυλὴν καὶ χιλιαστύν. ἔλαχε | φυλὴν Εὐώνυμος,[1] χιλιαστὺν Γα . . . . . .

No. 23.

Ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ. Ἀριστεὺς εἶπεν· Ἐπειδὴ Ἀριστοφάνης Ἀριστείδους Τηΐος εὔνουν ἑαυτὸν παρέχεται καὶ κοινῇ τῷ | δήμῳ καὶ τῶμ πολιτῶν τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις,[2] καὶ νῦν . . . . . ἀπο|σταλέντος εἰς Τέω ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως πολλὴν εὔνοιαγ καὶ προθυμίαμ παρείχετο· . . . . . δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ δοῦναι Ἀριστο|φάνῃ Ἀριστείδους Τηΐῳ πολιτείαν, αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκγόνοις· ἐπικληρῶσαι δὲ αὐτὸν

[1] Εὐώνυμος. 'Phyle in Ephesos nach dem attischen Demos . . . benannt' (Pape). See No. 1, note.

[2] τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις. Cf. *Anc. Greek Inscr. in British Museum*, i. (Attica), p. 26: ἐστὶν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς . . . περὶ Ἀθηναίους τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις εἰς τὴν χώραν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ.

No. 22.

Diodorus moved, That whereas Amphictyon, son of Jason, of Mytilene, proves himself loyal and friendly to the People at large, and individually in relation to those of the citizens who have intercourse with him: it be hereby resolved by the Council and the People to grant him citizenship upon equal and similar terms, and, furthermore, to allot him a place in a tribe and a thousand.

Admitted into the Euonymian tribe and the Ga . . . . . an thousand.

No. 23.

Resolved by the Council and the People.

Aristeus moved, That whereas Aristophanes [?], son of Aristeides, of Teos, proves himself friendly to the People at large, and to such of the citizens as visit [Teos]; and of late, when . . . . was sent to Teos by the State, he manifested much loyalty and goodwill: it be hereby resolved by the Council and the People to grant citizenship to Aristophanes [?], son of Aristeides,

εἰς φυλὴν | καὶ χιλιαστύν· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα τοὺς νεωποίας ὅπου καὶ τὰς λοι πὰς ἀναγράφουσι πολιτείας. ἔλαχε φυλὴν . . . . . χιλιαστὺν . . . . . .

No. 24.

Ἔδοξεν τοῖς ῥηρημένοις ἐκ τοῦ δήμου ἐπὶ τῷ σίτῳ, ποιήσασθαι πολίτας τρεῖς εἰς τὰ συμφέροντα τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἐφεσίων | καὶ τῆς βουλῆς· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὰ ὀνόματα τῶγ γενομένων πολιτῶν τοὺς νεωποίας ὅπου καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας ἀναγράφουσιν | . . . . . των Ἀθηναγόρου· Διονύσιος Χάρμου· Ἀπολλώνιος Εὐθήνου. ἔλαχον φυλὴν Ἐφεσεῖς, χιλιαστὺν Οἰνῶπες.[1]

[1] Οἰνῶπες. The name of a tribe at Cyzicus (Pape, referring to Böckh, inscrr. 3663–6). Cf. No. 10 (Βωρεύς).

of Teos, to himself and his descendants; furthermore, to allot him a place in a tribe and a thousand; and, moreover, that this decree be inscribed by the Temple-wardens where they inscribe the rest of the grants of citizenship.

Admitted into the . . . . . tribe and the . . . . . thousand.

No. 24.

Resolved by those who have been chosen from the People in reference to the corn-supply to adopt three citizens, having regard to the interests of the Ephesian People and Council: further, that the names of the citizens so made be inscribed by the Temple-wardens where they inscribe those of the other citizens.

—— ton, son of Athenagoras, Dionysius, son of Charmus, Apollonius, son of Euthenus, were admitted into the Ephesian tribe and into the Œnopian thousand.

No. 25.

Ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ. Μητρᾶς[1] εἶπεν. ἐπειδὴ Ἀρχέστρατος Νίκωνος Μακεδών, οἰκεῖος ὢν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ γενόμενος | ἐγ Κλαζομέναις στρατηγός, πιστόν τε αὐτὸμ παρέσχηται εἰς τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως πράγματα, καὶ τῇ πόλει τὰ πλοῖα τὰ σιτηγὰ[2] ἔσωσεν· τὴμ βουλὴγ | καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἐφεσίων καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσέῳ στεφάνῳ καὶ ἀναγγεῖλαι τοῖς Διονυσίοις ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τῆς . . . . . ἐπικληρῶσαι δὲ αὐτὸν | καὶ εἰς φυλὴγ καὶ χιλιαστύν· εἶναι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ προεδρίαν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι καὶ ἀτέλειαν ὧν ἂν εἰσάγηται ἢ ἐξάγηται· καὶ ἀναγράψαι τὸ ψήφισμα | τοὺς νεωποίας εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, ὅπου καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ πολιτεῖαι ἀναγεγραμμέναι εἰσί· ὅπως ἅπαντες ἂν εἰδῶσι ὅτι ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἐφεσίων, κ.τ.λ.

[1] Μητρᾶς, i.q. Μητρόδωρος. Cf. Cramer, *Anecdota*, ii. 270 [cited in Steph. *Thes.* (ed. Hase)].

[2] σιτηγὰ = σιταγωγά. 'Dem. 1213, 2' (L. and S.).

No. 25.

Resolved by the Council and the People.

Metras moved, That whereas Archestratus, son of Nicon of Macedonia, being on friendly terms with the King, and in command at Clazomenæ, has proved himself to be faithful to the King's interests, and saved the corn-ships for this City: the Council and the People of Ephesus crown Archestratus with a crown of gold, and proclaim it at the festival of Dionysus in the Theatre of [?] . . . . .; further, that they allot him a place both in a tribe and in a thousand, and that he possess the privilege of occupying a front seat at the Games, and exemption from duty on all articles which he may import or export. And that this decree be inscribed by the Temple-wardens in the Temple of Artemis where the rest of these grants of citizenship have been inscribed, that all men may know that the Ephesian people honours those who render it service, &c.

No. 26.

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

καὶ ἐπικληρῶσαι αὐτὸν εἰς φυλὴν καὶ
χιλιαστύν· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ
ψήφισμα τοὺς νεωποίας εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν
τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, ὅπου καὶ τὰς ἄλλας
πολιτείας ἀναγράφουσιν. ἔλαχε φυλὴν
Ἐφεσεύς, χιλιαστὺν Ῥοδιος [?].

No. 26.

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

and to allot him a place in a tribe and a thousand; furthermore, that the Temple-wardens inscribe this decree in the Temple of Artemis, where they inscribe the other grants of citizenship.

Admitted into the Ephesian tribe, and the Rhodian [?] thousand.

Tribes (φυλαί) *and thousands* (χιλιαστύες) *mentioned in the foregoing inscriptions:*

ΦΥΛΑΙ	ΧΙΛΙΑΣΤΥΕΣ
Ἐφεσεῖς	Ἀργαδεῖς
,, ...	Βωρεῖς
,, ...	Λεβέδιοι
,, ...	Οἰνῶπες
,, ...	Ῥόδιοι [?]
Βεμβινεῖς	Αἰγώτεοι
Καρηναῖοι	Ἀλθαιμενεῖς
Εὐώνυμοι	Γα . . . . .
Τηΐοι	Ἡγητόρειοι
[?]	Ἐχύρεοι
[?]	Σιμώνεοι
[?]	Χηλώνεοι

INSCRIPTIONS

FROM THE

SITE OF THE TEMPLE OF DIANA

No. 1.

(*Found on the north side of the Temple, six feet below the surface.*)

Αὐρήλιον
Ἑρμόφιλον
ἐπίτροπον
τοῦ Σεβ.
Αὐρήλιος
Φιλόνεικος
ἑκατόνταρχος
τὸν εὐεργέτην.

No. 2.

. . . . . .
ἀρχιέρειαν τῆς
Ἀσίας ναῶν τῶν
ἐν Ἐφέσῳ,
τὴν τειμὴν ἀ-
ναστησάντων
Οὐετυληνίου

No. 1.

[To] Aurelius Hermophilus, *procurator Augusti*, [erected by] Aurelius Philoneicus, a centurion, [to] his benefactor.

A sepulchral inscription, probably erected by a freedman. On the imperial procurators see Marquardt, *Handb. d. Röm. Alterth.* iii. 300: another person is called ἐπίτροπός μου in a letter of Antoninus Pius; see Inscriptions from the Odeum, No. 2. The form τὸν εὐεργέτην at the end occurs in various inscriptions.

No. 2.

[To] . . . . . ., [priestess of] the temples of Asia that are in Ephesus, the memorial ('honour') having been erected by Vetulenius Sabinianus of the tribunitiate ('chiliarchia'), and

Σαβεινιάνου
ἀπὸ χειλιαρχίας
καὶ Οὐετυληνίου
Αὐγουρείνου
ἱππικῶν,
υἱῶν αὐτῆς
τῆς γλυκυτάτης
μητρός.

No. 3.

Matidiae,
Divae Marcianae
Augustae nepti, Divae
Matidiae Augustae filiae, Divae
Sabinae Augustae sorori,
Imperatoris Antonini Augusti Pii
materterae, Bule et Civitas
Efesiorum,
curam agente Successo liberto Procuratore.

Vetulenius Augurinus, men of equestrian rank, sons of her their much beloved mother.

A sepulchral inscription to a lady, priestess of the temples at Ephesus belonging to the imperial worship celebrated by the Community (κοινόν) of associated cities in the province of Asia. See Marquardt, *Handb. d. röm. Alterth.* iii. 1. 140 f., and especially Waddington, *Voy. Arch.* iii. No. 885: several inscriptions cited by Marquardt (*C. I. G.* 3151, 3211, 3415, 3508) supply the contents of line 2. On τειμή as a statue see Boeckh on *C. I. G.* 3192 (cf. 3199, 3200); also Le Bas, *Voy. Arch.* p. 19, another Ephesian inscription printed by C. Curtius, *Hermes*, iv. 193 (who refers to *C. I. G.* 2954. 87), and No. 139 of Le Bas and Waddington. On the tribunitiate or *chiliarchia* see Guhl, *Ephesiaca* 73 f., and an inscription at Aphrodisias in *C. I. G.* 2803.

No. 3.

'In honour of Matidia,[1] granddaughter of diva Marciana Augusta, daughter of diva Matidia Augusta, sister of diva Sabina Augusta, maternal aunt of the Emperor Antoninus Augustus Pius, by the βουλή and City of the Ephesians, the freedman Successus, Procurator, being clerk of the works.'

[1] This Matidia therefore was the sister of Hadrian's wife Sabina, both of them being daughters of the elder Matidia, daughter of Trajan's sister Marciana. Antoninus Pius then being son by adoption of Hadrian and Sabina, this younger Matidia was his (adoptive) aunt on the mother's side.

The inscription belongs to the reign of Antoninus (A.D. 138–161); and probably to its first year, as he is not styled P.P. (pater patriae), a title which he received in 139.

No. 4.

[T.] Claudio, T. filio, Papiria, Xenophonti, Procuratori Augusti ad bona co . . . nda * in Africa, Procuratori Provinciae Asiae, Subpraefecto annonae Urbis, Procuratori Illyrici per Moesiam Inferiorem et Dacias tres, Procuratori argentariarum Pannoniarum et Dalmatiarum, Procuratori Daciae Apulensis, Procuratori in Aegypto ad Epistrategiam septem Nomorum et Arsinoitum, Procuratori viarum Urbis, Salvianus, Augusti nostri verna, Dispensator rationis extraordinariae

Provinciae Asiae.

* *Coemenda* perhaps, as the first syllable was *co* not *con.*

[1] It is certainly T. not Tr. on the stone. Of course *Ti.* (Tiberius) is far more common as a praenomen of the Claudii, but T. (Titus) does occur both with Claudius and Clodius.

[2] *Illyricum* was a general term and comprehended the two Moesias, the three Dacias, and some other adjoining provinces. He was therefore Proc. of the part of Illyricum comprehended in Lower Moesia and all the three Dacias.

[3] One of the three Dacias was called *Apulensis* from the town of *Apulum* (Carlsburg).

No. 4.

'Erected by Salvianus, born slave of our Lord Augustus, and cashier of the extraordinary expenditure in the province of Asia, in honour of [1] Titus Claudius Xenophon, son of [1] Titus, of the Papirian tribe, Procurator of Augustus for * purchasing estates in Africa, Procurator of the province of Asia, Subprefect of the corn supplies for the City, Procurator of [2] Illyricum throughout Lower Moesia and the three Dacias, Procurator of the silver-mines in both the Pannonias and both the Dalmatias, Procurator of Dacia Apulensis,[3] Procurator in Egypt of the [4] Epistrategia of the Seven Nomes and the Arsinoitae, and Procurator of the ways of the City.'

[4] Egypt was divided into three *Epistrategiae* or chief military districts, each of which was under an *Epistrategos* or supreme military governor, and had an Imperial Procurator. One of these Epistrategiae, comprehending Middle Egypt, was called the *Heptanomis* or Seven Nomes, and its capital was Arsinoe. All Egypt was subdivided into Nomes.

No. 5.

Ti. Claudio Vibiano Tertullo
ab epistulis Graecis
et a rationibus Augustorum
et Praefecto vigilum
Spectatus Augustorum nostrorum
Libertus, Adiutor tabulariorum ob me-
rita eius.

Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον Οὐειβιανὸν
Τέρτυλλον τὸν
ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν
ἐπιστολῶν καὶ τῶν
καθόλου λόγων τῶν
μεγίστων αὐτοκρατό-
ρων καὶ ἔπαρχον οὐι-
γούλων.
Σπέκτατος Σεβαστῶν ἀπελεύ-
θερος, βοηθὸς ταβλαρίων,
τὸν ἴδιον εὐεργέτην.

No. 5.

'Erected by Spectatus, freedman of our Lords the Augusti, [1] assistant accountant, in honour of Tiberius Claudius Vibianus Tertullus, Greek [2] secretary and [2] steward of the Augusti and Praefect of the Watch, in gratitude for his good offices.'

[1] *Adiutor tabulariorum* was a common office, as it occurs often in inscriptions.

[2] *Ab epistulis, a rationibus*: this use of *ab*, and the corresponding ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν in Greek, are exceedingly frequent in inscriptions.

No. 6.

TI. IVLIVM. C . . .
CORNAE . . . . . .
DRVMO . . . . . .
TRIB. M . . . . . .
5. RINAT. O . . . . . .
CIVM. EQ . . . . . .
AVG. PRO . . . . . .
VAE. TR . . . . . .
RIS AVG. . . . . .

10. PROVINC . . . .
IAE. ITEM . . .
ASIAE . . .
M. VLPIVS . .
REPENTI . . . .
15. PENSAVIT . . .
CIA. ASIAE . . . .
TA
H . . .

No. 7.

Ὑπατικὸν Ποντιφίκα Ὑμμιδίου Κοδράτου πατέρα κήδε . . .

. . . . . .

παντοίης ἀρετῆς στάθμην, ῥυσίπτολιν ἄνδρα,
ἔξοχον Ἑλλήνων, πρόκριτον Αὐσονίων,
κλεινοῦ Κοδράτοιο φίλον πατέρ', ᾧ βασιλεῖον
ἁρμονίη θάλαμον πήξατ' ἐπ' εὐγαμίῃ,
Ἀδριανὸς Μούσαισι μέλων ἀνέθηκε Σεούηρον,
εἰκὼ χαλκείην οὕνεκα προστασίης
Ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, ἀγάλματα καλὸν ὁρᾶσθαι
αἰὲν, ὅτ' ἔστεπται πλησίῳ ἐν τεμένει.

No. 8.

ANNO . . . .
M. PAL . . .
VENE . . .
FACIEN . . .
CVR . . .

No. 9.

. . . IVS. AMPHIO . . . .
. . . IA. P. L. IVCVNDA . . .

No. 10.

PR . . . . . .
PRO . . . . . .

PAVLVS AV . . . . . .
VERNA ARKARIVS
PRAEPOSITO . . . . .
IVSTISSIMO . . . .

No. 7.

A man of consular rank, a pontifex, the father of Ummidius Quadratus,[1] . . . . . .

Hadrianus, a friend of the Muses, dedicated this statue to Severus, a patriot citizen, a model of virtue of every kind, a principal man among the Greeks, and eminent among the Italians, the dear father of the famous[2] Quadratus, for whom wedded love built a royal chamber[3] for a happy married life: a statue of bronze[4] to commemorate his patronage.[5] To you, men of Ionia! it is ever pleasing to see images [when they are crowned] in this grove near your city.

A very interesting inscription, in parts difficult to read, but nearly certain in every line but the last.

The epithet in v. 1 is certainly ῥυσίπτολιν, 'protector of his city.' The word occurs in Aesch., *Sept. c. Theb.*, 120.

[1] This is perhaps the Ummidius Quadratus, governor of Syria, mentioned by Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 45 and 54, the rival of the celebrated Corbulo. His death is mentioned, *Ann.* xiv. 26, in the fourth consulship of Nero. But there were others of the same name.

[2] Or Κλεινοῦ may be a proper name.

[3] Or, 'built a chamber that was a palace to them.'

[4] Lit. 'dedicated Severus (as) a bronze statue.'

[5] Hadrianus seems to have been client to his *patronus* Quadratus, or possibly to Severus.

For additional notes on this inscription, see Postscript at end of Appendix.

No. 11.

. . . . . .

Βουλή . . . . . .

τῶν μαθητῶν

Τ. Φλ. Ὑψικλῆς Τιανος·

Ῥόδιος . . . . . .

Τ. Φλ. Πλαικιανὸς Ἐφέσιος·

Ῥόδιος Πρεῖσκος·

Τ. Κλ. Καλλίξενος Κιλβιανός·

Ἱεραπολίτης Κλ. Σάλβιος·

Αὐρ. Ἄτταλος Φωκαεύς·

Νεικαεὺς Αἰλ. Λυκεῖνος·

Λει. Μάρκελλος Ἀνκυρανός·

Ἀντιοχεὺς Μεττιανός·

Κόλων Καύνιος·

Δίς με σοφιστὴν πρῶτον Ἀθήνηθεν κάλεσαντο
Σώτηρον βουλῆς δόγμασιν Ἀνδροκλίδαι
Πρώτῳ δὲ ἀντ᾽ ἀρετῆς τε βίου σοφίης τε λόγοιο
Ὥρισαν ἐν τιμαῖς μυρία δῶρα τελεῖν.

No. 11.

. . . . . .

The Council . . . . . .

of his disciples.

T. Flavius Hypsicles of Tion;

Of Rhodes, ...

T. Flavius Plaecianus of Ephesus;

Of Rhodes, Priscus;

T. Claudius Callixenus of Cilbianum;

Of Hierapolis, Claudius Salvius;

Aurelius Attalus of Phocaea;

Of Nicaea, Ælius Lycinus;

Li. Marcellus of Ancyra;

Of Antiochia, Mettianus;

Colon of Caunus.

Twice did the Androclidae[1] summon from Athens me Soterus,[2] a sophist, first by decrees of the Council; and on me first as a reward for virtue of life and wisdom of speech they resolved by way of honour to bestow numberless gifts.

[1] Androclus was the reputed founder of Ephesus, Strabo, xiv. p. 632, 640.

[2] A sophist of this name is mentioned somewhat contemptuously by Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* ii. 23, as having resided at Ephesus.

No. 12.

(*From a pedestal.*)

. . . . . σύνκλητον
ἡ νεοκόρος Ἐφεσίων πόλις· καθιερώσαντος
Πεδανίου Φούσκου Σαλεινάτορος ἀνθυπάτου
διὰ πρεσβευτοῦ καὶ ἀντιστρατήγου Γαΐου
Ἀρμινίου Γάλλου ψηφισαμένου Τιβερίου
Κλαυδίου Ἰουλιανοῦ φιλοπάτριδος καὶ
φιλοσεβάστου τοῦ γραμματέως τοῦ δήμου.

No. 13.

Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Θεοῦ Νερούα υἱὸν Νερούαν
Τραιανὸν Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικὸν Δακικὸν ἡ φιλοσέ-
βαστος Ἐφεσίων βουλὴ καὶ ὁ νεοκόρος δῆμος κα-
θιέρωσαν ἐπὶ ἀνθυπάτου Βιττίου Πρόκλου
ψηφισαμένου Τ. Φλα. Ἀριστοβούλου Ἀσιάρχου
γραμματέως τοῦ δήμου υἱοῦ Πυθίωνος αρ . . . . .
γυμνασιαρχούντων γυμνασιαρχίας εν . . . . . .
. . . . . δος το σ . . φ . . . . α
. . . . . ιας μυρτ . . . . . .

No. 12.

. . . . . the Senate . . . . the devout city of the Ephesians. Dedicated by Pedanius Fuscus Salinator[1] the proconsul as represented by the legate and propraetor Gaius Arminius Gallus, in accordance with a decree of Tiberius Claudius Julianus, the Recorder of the people, loyal to his country and to Augustus.

[1] Pedanius was the colleague of Hadrian in the consulship, A.D. 118. His name is given in full in Boeckh, *Corp. Inscr.*, No. 1732.

No. 13.

The Emperor Caesar Nerva Trajanus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, son of Divus Nerva, dedicated by the loyal Council of the Ephesians and the devout People in the proconsulship of Vettius Proculus,[1] in accordance with a decree of T. Flavius Aristobulus, son of Pythion, Asiarch and Recorder of the People . . . . . the gymnasiarchs being . . . . . .

[1] Vettius Proculus was proconsul about A.D. 112: see Waddington, *Fastes der Provinces Asiatiques*, p. 716.

No. 14.

(*Found in wall on site of the Temple, 8 feet below present surface of ground.*)

Ἀττίδιον Ἰοῦσκον[1] Πραίτορα καὶ πρεσβευτὴν
γενέρωσον καὶ εὐγενέστατον Στερτίνιος Μάξιμος
Εὐτύχης, ἱππικὸς Ῥωμαίων, θύτης τῶν ἑξήκοντα,
σκρείβας λιβράριος κουαιστώριος, τὸν ἴδιον πάτρωνα.

No. 15.

(*From a pedestal.*)

Τῆς πρώτης καὶ μεγίστης μητροπόλεως
τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ δὶς νεωκόρου τῶν Σεβαστῶν Ἐφεσίων
πόλεως ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησαν Τ. Φλ.
Σαρπηδόνα Ἀκμονέα καὶ Ἐφέσιον, παῖδα κωμῳδόν,
ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ σώφρονος ἀσκήσεως
καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν ἐπιμελείας νικήσαντα
τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν μεγάλων ἱερῶν Ἀρτεμισίων ἀγωνοθετοῦντος Λου.
Αὐρηλίου Φίλωνος.

No. 14.

To Attidius Fuscus, Praetor and Legate, noble and high born; erected by Stertinius Maximus Eutyches, a Roman of equestrian rank, a sacrificer belonging to the Sixty, scribe and clerk to the quaestor, in honour of his own patron.

[1] The name is engraved so, but should probably be *Φοῦσκον*, *Τοῦσκον*, or *Ἰοῦστον*.

No. 15.

The Council and People of the first and greatest metropolis of Asia, twice Temple-warden of the Augusti, the city of the Ephesians, in honour of T. Flavius Sarpedon, the Acmonean and Ephesian, a boy comedian, as a reward for his excellence and his studious training, and his care bestowed on his acting, after his victory in the contest at the great festival of the Artemisia; the president of the games being Lucius Aurelius Philo.

No. 16.

(*From the door-jamb of the last Temple of Diana.*)

. . ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΝ

. . Ν. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝ .

. ΟΝ. ΕΥΣΕΒΟΥΣ .

. . ΑΔΕΛΦΟΝ.

ΦΑΔΙΛΛΑΝ.
ΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΑ.
Μ. ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΥ.
ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΥ.
ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ-

. . . . . ΤΩΝ. Η. ΦΙΛΟΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ. ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ. ΒΟΥΛΗ. ΚΑΙ.

. . . . . ΣΤΟΥ. ΤΟΥ. ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΩΣ. ΤΟΥ. ΔΗΜΟΥ.

(*On another fragment of door-jamb.*)

ΦΑΥΣΤΕΙΝΑΝ .

ΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΑ .

Μ. ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΥ .

ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΥ .

(*On another fragment of door-jamb.*)

ΦΑΥΣΤΕΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡΑ

ΘΕΑΝΑΥΤΟ ΚΑΙ . . . . . .

No. 16.

Fadilla and Faustina, two daughters of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, are here mentioned, and the doors of the temple were probably repaired in their time; the name of the secretary is missing

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No. 17.

(*Fragments of dedicatory inscriptions from the torus of the column-bases; taken from the Schedae epigraphicae by Herr Hermanus Roehl.*)

ΓΙ ΣΑΡΔΙΗΝΗΑΡΤ ΔΙΤ ΟΥΔΟ

. . . γι . . Σαρδιηνὴ Ἀρτέμιδι τὸν οὐδὸν ἀνέθηκεν

ΡΟ ΔΡΟΥ

. . ἀνδρου

ΕΜ ΑΝΕ Ο ΡΥ ΝΗ ΑΝΤ

Ἀρτέμιδι ἀνέθηκε,

ΕΥΣ ΕΘΗ ΤΟΥ ΗΚΕ ΕΘΗ

ἀνέθηκε, ἀνέθηκε, ἀνέθηκε,

ΘΡ ΝΕΟ Ε ΟΑ ΡΙΣΤ

θρασυ . . Ἀριστ . . .

ΤΕΛ ΚΕ ΟΑ ΜΙΔΟ ΑΡΤ

. . τέλης, ἀνέθηκε, Ἀρτέμιδος, Ἀρτέμιδι.

No. 18.

μω . . . . . τοι . . . . . .
διω πασῶν τῶν κρίσεων καὶ τὰ ἆθλα δόντα
τοῖς μουσικοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἀθληταῖς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων
καὶ παν̣ηγυριαρχήσαντα τῶν Ἀρτεμεισήων καὶ
ἀγωνοθετήσαντα τῶν μεγάλων Πυθίων καὶ
ἀρχιερατεύσαντα τῶν ἐπ᾽ Ἰωνίας καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου
καὶ ἀγωνοθετήσαντα τῶν χρυσοφόρων, δόντα
καὶ κείονας τῇ πόλει εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον γυμνάσιον.
τ̣ων ποιησαμένης Οὐλπίας . . . τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν.

No. 18.

. . . . of all the trials, and given the prizes to the musicians and to the athletes at his own expense, and presided at the great festival of the Artemisia, and conducted the games at the great Pythia, and held the office of chief-priest to the guild comprising Ionia and the Hellespont, and conducted the games for the Chrysophori, and likewise given columns to the city for the Old Gymnasium.

. . . erected by Ulpia . . their mother.[1]

[1] This explains the purpose of the inscription. It consisted of two parts, commemorating Ulpia's two sons. The inscription on the left hand is too fragmentary to be restored. Like the right-hand inscription, however, it appears to have mentioned the guild of Ionia and the Hellespont.

INSCRIPTIONS

FROM

THE AUGUSTEUM.

No. 1.

Δημητρίου ἐνιαυτῷ . . .
φυλῆς Ἐφεσέων.
Δημήτριος Μηνοφίλου, Τρύ-
φωνος Βορεύς· Θόας Δρα-
κοντομένους Οἴνωψ. τῆς
Σεβαστῆς. Ἀλέξανδρος
Διοκλήους τοῦ Ἀλεξάν-
δρου Λαβάνδηος· Πυθί-
ων Φερίππου τοῦ Νε-
άνδρου Σιεύς. Τήϊοι. Πυθέ-
ας Ἑρμολάου Ἐχεπτολεμεύς·
Πυθόδωρος Ἀπολλωνίου
τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου Ἐχεπτολεμεύς.
Καρηναῖοι. Εὐσέβης Δει-
καίου Πεῖος· Τρύφων Τρύ-
φωνος τοῦ Νεικαγόρου
Χηλώνηος. Εὐώνυμοι,
Ηράκλειτος Ἡρακλείτου τοῦ
Ἀπολλωνίου Γλαύκης·

No. 1.

In the . . . year of Demetrius. Of the tribe of the Ephesians: Demetrius, son of Menophilus, [son of] Tryphon (?), Borean; Thoas, son of Dracontomenes, Œnopian. Of the Augustan tribe: Alexander, son of Diocles, son of Alexander, Labandean; Pythion, son of Pherippus, son of Neander, Siean. Teians: Pytheas, son of Hermolaus, Echeptolemean; Pythodorus, son of Apollonius, son of Apollonius, Echeptolemean. Carineans: Eusebes, son of Deicæus, Pian; Tryphon, son of Tryphon, son of Nicagoras, Chelonean. Euonymians: Heracleitus, son of Heracleitus, son of Apollonius, Glaucean; Apellas, son of Menodotus, Polyclean. Bembineans: Lesbon, son of Teimotheus, son of Teimotheus, Aegotean.

Line 4. For Τρυφώνας we should probably read Τρύφωνος or τοῦ Τρύφωνος.

A very interesting inscription, in part barely legible, and difficult of illustration. The occasion on which it was composed would have been evident but for the mutilation of the beginning: the date alone in part survives. The inscription may possibly be a list of contributors to some public works in some unknown year of one Demetrius, who was probably an Ephesian official. The persons named are arranged according to their tribes, but the arrangement of the tribes themselves is not easy to explain; it is certainly not chronological, but may possibly be in the order of their rank. Ephorus s. v. Βέννα (Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* vol. i. p. 242; Guhl, *Ephes.*

'Απελλᾶς Μηνοδότου Πολύκληος. Βεμβειναῖοι.

Λέσβων Τειμοθέου τοῦ Τειμοθέου Αἰγώτεος.

No. 2.

'Αγαθῇ τύχῃ.

Εὐχαριστῶ σοι, κυρία Ἄρτεμι, Γ. Σκάπτιος Φροντεῖνυς, νεοποιός, βουλευτής, σὺν καὶ τῇ γυναικί μου Ἑρεννίᾳ Αὐτρωνίᾳ, ἐσσηνεύσας[1] ἁγνῶς καὶ εὐσεβῶς, σπονδοποιοῦντος Θεοπόμπου Γ. τοῦ Μενεκρατοῦς ἱεραῦ.

[1] The Essenes, priests of Artemis, bound to perpetual chastity, may very possibly be connected with the Jewish monks of the same name. The verb ἐσσηνεύω appears to be new.

p. 29) mentions the five Ephesian tribes as Bennians (read Bembineans), Ephesians, and Euonymians, to which the Teians and Carineans were afterwards added. All these occur in this inscription, and beside them the Augustan tribe. Each man's name is followed by that of his father, and sometimes that of his grandfather, with a further designation which doubtless indicates the division (a *φρατρία*, or something analogous) of the tribe to which he belonged. The readings of two or three names of persons are uncertain, as Neander (possibly Leander or Menander), Pytheas, and Pherippus. The names of these divisions are not given in Pape's *Wörterbuch der Griechischen Eigennamen*; some of these are faint in the inscription.

No. 2.

With Good Fortune.

I give thanks to thee, O Lady Artemis, both I Scaptius Frontinus, Temple-builder[1] and member of the Senate, and my wife Herennia Autronia, I having performed the office of Essene, in a holy and pious manner, Theopompus making the drink offering, Caius the son of Menecrates being . . . . of the temple.

[1] Curator, or Shrine-maker (?).

No. 3.

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.

εὐχαριστῶ σοι κυρία Ἄρτεμι Μητρόδωρος Δαμα βοα του Ἀλεξάνδρου φυλῆς Τηΐων χιλιαστύς Εὐρυπόμπου νεοποιήσας εὐσεβῶς τας . . . . ηνειας μετὰ καὶ τῶν . . . αὐτοῦ τέκνων καὶ γυναικὶ . . . αὐτοῦ Ἀγλαία.

No. 4.

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.

εὐχαριστῶ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι Στέφανος Συνετου . . . . μετὰ καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ Στεφάνου καὶ τοῦ Συνμηνου . . Πο. Αἰλίου Πλουτογέν . . . βουλευτοῦ καὶ ἐφηβάρχου . . . παραφυλακος . . . . . .

No. 5.

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησαν τοὺς νεοποίους . . . ἐπὶ πρυτάνεως.

No. 3.

With good fortune!

I Metrodorus, son of Dama, having been a Temple-builder, piously, and . . . . by the aid of Alexander of the Teian tribe, thousand of Eurypompus, offer my thanks to thee, O Lady Artemis.

[In this he joins] with his children and his wife Aglæa.

No. 4.

With good fortune.

I Stephanus, son of Synetus, render thanks to Artemis, together with my son Stephanus, and . . . . . .

Publius Aelius . . . . . a Councillor and Ephebarch . . . . . .

No. 5.

The council and the people testify to the honour of the Temple-builders . . . . . in the year of the presidency of . . .

No. 6.

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.

οἱ δὲ ἐν . . . . . καὶ τοῖς σὺν . . . . αὐθαιρέτοι πρυτάνευς Ουοκόνια (?) ἂν . . . . . ἱερατευούσης λ . . . . . τῆς, ἱεροκήρυκος . . . . Μάρκου Κράτερος . . . . πλίου φυ. Καριεναίων ✳ Ἀλθαιμένεος (?) Διονύσιος φυ. Ἐφέσεω. ✳ Λεβέδιος . . . οἱ γενο . . . . .

No. 7.

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησαν Κλαυδίαν . . . . . Κλαύδιον . . . . . καὶ Μίνδιον . . . . ἱερέας καὶ . . . . . θυγατέρα . . . . . καὶ Ἀπο . . . . . ἱερατεύσασαν τῆς θεοῦ . . . . . .

No. 8.

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.

εὐχαριστῶ σοι Κυρία Ἄρτεμι Τ. Φλ . . . . Ἀλέξανδρος Αἰλιανὸς φιλοσέβαστος ἱερόκηρυξ, ἀγοράνομος, στρατηγὸς, νεόποιος, σὺν καὶ τῇ γυναικί μου Οὐηδίᾳ Διομηδίλλῃ, καὶ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτῆς Οὐηδίῳ Διομήδει.

No. 6.

With good fortune.

Allusion is here made to certain citizens or authorities of the city, a priestess, and a sacred herald. Also to Marcus Craterus . . . . . of the Carenaean tribe, the Althaimenean thousand, Dionysius of the Ephesian tribe, the Lebedian thousand . . . . . .

No. 7.

The Council and the people testify to the honour of Claudia, Claudius, and Mindius, priests, and of . . . . . daughter of . . . and Apo . . . who acted as priestess to the goddess , . . .

No. 8.

With good fortune.

I Alexander Ælianus, friend of Augustus, a sacred herald, Aedile, General, and Temple-builder, render thanks to thee, O Lady Artemis, together with my wife Vedia Diomedilla and her father Vedius Diomedes.

No. 9.

Τιβ. Κλαύδιον Σεκοῦνδον βιάτορα τριβουνικιον, Ἄκκηνσον οὐήλατον λείκτορα κουρίατον φιλεφέσιον (σὺν) καὶ ἄλλοις ἐπισήμοις Ῥωμαίοις ἐκόσμησαν . . . . . Ἐφεσίων πολῖται . . . . . .

(*Five remaining lines almost entirely erased.*)

No. 10.

. . . . . Σεβαστω . . . . . τὴν ἀγνείαν καθιέρωσαν

No. 11.

Νικον Ἰούλιον Τιβερίου, Δρουσον Ἰούλιον Τιβερίου υἱὸν Καίσαρα, Τιβέριον Ἰούλιον Σεβαστὸν υἱὸν Καίσαρα, ... οἱ νεοποιήσαντες . . . . . Ἰούλιον Καίσαρα ἐπὶ πρυτανέως Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου Πασαλλατου ἐνιαυτω

No. 9.

Tiberius Claudius Secundus, Viator of the rank of tribune; Accensus Velatus, a lictor curiatus, friend of the Ephesians, with other illustrious Romans, are adorned by the Ephesian citizens . . . . . .

(*The rest obscure and fragmentary.*)

No. 10.

[Certain persons] solemnly consecrate an expiatory offering.

No. 11.

The victorious Julius, son of Tiberius Drusus Julius Caesar, son of Tiberius Julius Augustus Caesar, son of Tiberius Julius Caesar the Temple-builders, [or curators, congratulate] . . . . . in the year of the presidency of Alexander Apollonius Pasallatus,

No. 12.

. . . . . νεοποιήσας ιεροπρεπως καὶ φιλοτίμως μετα τῶν τέκνων μου του φιλου Οὐάλεντος καὶ του φιλου Φροντεινου καὶ φιλης Φαυστίνης τῆς θυγατρός μου.

No. 12.

[I . . . . . render thanks to thee, O Lady Artemis,] having been a Temple-builder (or Curator) religiously and honourably, together with my children the beloved Valens and the beloved Frontinus, and my beloved daughter Faustina.

No. 13.

πρύτανις πρωτογένου τοῦ Σιμωνίδου Σιμώνιος . . . Ασκληπιάδης Μέμνονος Τρύφων στραβέλαφος Πελασγηος

INSCRIPTIONS

FROM

THE ODEUM

No. 1.

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ
Παρθικοῦ υἱὸς θεοῦ Νερούα ἔκγονος
Τραϊανὸς Ἀδριανὸς Σεβαστὸς ἀρχιερεὺς
μέγιστος δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ γ̄, ὕπατος τὸ γ̄,
πατὴρ πατρίδος Ἐφεσίων τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ χαίρειν.
Λ. Ἐραστὸς καὶ πολείτης ὑμῶν εἶναί φησιν καὶ πολλ . . .
πλι καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ὅσα ἀπὸ τούτου δυνατὸς
χρήσιμος γενέσθαι τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τοῦ ἔθνους τοὺς ἡγε-
μόνας ἀεὶ διακομίζειν—ἐμοὶ δὲ δὶς ἤδη συνέβαινεν
τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εἰς Ῥόδον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐφέσου κομιζομένῳ
νῦν δὲ ἀπὸ Ἐλευσῖνος πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀφικνουμένῳ, βούλεται
δὲ βουλευτὴς γενέσθαι, κἀγὼ τὴν μὲν δοκιμασίαν ἐφ' ὑμεῖν
ποιοῦμαι, εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἐνποδὼν . . . . καὶ φαίνεται τιμῆς ἄξιος
τὸ ἀργύριον ὅσον διδόασιν οἱ βουλεύοντες δώσω τῆς ἀρχαιρεσίας ἕνεκα.
Εὐτυχεῖτε.

No. 1.

The Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan, conqueror of Parthia, descendant of the deified Nerva, Trajanus Hadrianus Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribune of the People for the third time, Consul for the third time, Father of his country, to the Magistrates of the Ephesians and to the Council, greeting. Lucius Erastus affirms that he is a citizen of yours, and sails much also on the sea, and that, as far as he can from doing this, he makes himself serviceable to his country, and continually conveys over the sea the chief men of the [Ionian] race. Moreover he had interviews with me on two former occasions, first, when I made a voyage from Ephesus to Rhodes, and now on my arrival at your city from Eleusis. His wish is to become a member of the Council, and I accordingly commit to you the legal investigation of his claims ; and if nothing stands in the way, and he appears to you deserving of that honour, I will give the amount of money which they pay on being admitted to the Council,[1] and to meet the expenses of the election. Farewell.

[1] Or, which the members of the Council pay (for the candidate).

No. 2

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ
υἱὸς, θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱωνὸς,
θεοῦ Νερούα ἔκγονος, Τίτος Αἴλιος Ἀδριανὸς
Ἀντωνεῖνος Σεβαστὸς, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος
δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ—αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ—ὕπατος
τὸ γ, πατὴρ πατρίδος, Ἐφεσίων τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ
καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν.

Περγαμηνοὺς ἀπεδεξάμην ἐν τοῖς πρὸς ὑμᾶς γράμμασιν
χρησαμένους τοῖς ὀνόμασιν οἷς ἐγὼ χρῆσθαι τὴν πόλιν
τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀπεφηνάμην. Οἶμαι δὲ καὶ Σμυρναίους κατὰ
τύχην παραλελοιπέναι ταῦτα ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς συνθυσίας
ψηφίσματι, τοῦ λοιποῦ δὲ ἑκόντας εὐγνωμονήσειν, ἐὰν
καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐν τοῖς πρὸς αὐτοὺς γράμμασιν ὃν προσήκει
τρόπον καὶ κέκριται, τῆς πόλεως αὐτῶν ἀεὶ ἦτε μεμνη-
μένοι. Τὸ ψήφισμα ἔπεμψεν Σουλπίκιος Ἰουλιανὸς ἐπίτροπός μου.

Εὐτυχεῖτε.

Τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα ἐποίησεν γραμματεύων Π. Οὐήδιος Ἀντωνεῖνος.

No. 2.

The Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Hadrian, grandson of the deified Trajan, conqueror of Parthia, descendant from the deified Nerva, Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribune of the People for the — time, Imperator for the — time, Consul for the third time, Father of his country, to the Magistrates of the Ephesians, and to the Council,

and the People, greeting:

In my letters to you I expressed my satisfaction that the people of Pergamus had adopted the names which I had directed your city to use. I think, moreover, that the people of Smyrna have by accident passed over these in their decree concerning the joint sacrifice, and that for the future they will show their right feeling by their deliberate adoption of them, if you also in your letters to them shall always have made mention of their city in the manner that is becoming and has been decided. This decree is sent by Sulpicius Julianus, my Procurator. Farewell.

This decree was drawn up by Publius Vedius Antoninus, acting as scribe.

No. 3.

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ
υἱὸς, θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱωνός,
θεοῦ Νερούα ἔκγονος, Τίτος Αἴλιος Ἀδριανὸς
Ἀντωνεῖνος Σεβαστὸς, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος δημαρ
χικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ η̄, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ β̄, ὕπατος τὸ δ̄,
πατὴρ πατρίδος, Ἐφεσίων τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ
δήμῳ χαίρειν. Τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ἣν φιλοτιμεῖται
πρὸς ὑμᾶς Οὐήδιος Ἀντωνεῖνος ἔμαθον οὐχ οὕτως ἐκ
τῶν ὑμετέρων γραμμάτων ὡς ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνου, βουλόμε-
νος γὰρ παρ' ἐμοῦ τυχεῖν βοηθείας εἰς τὸν κόσμον τῶν
ἔργων ὧν ὑμεῖν ἐπηγγείλατο, ἐδήλωσεν ὅσα καὶ ἡλίκα οἰ-
κοδομήματα προστίθησιν τῇ πόλει, ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς οὐκ ὀρ-
θῶς ἀπεδέχεσθε αὐτὸν κἀγὼ καὶ συνωμολόγησα
ἃ ᾐτήσατο καὶ ἀπεδεξάμην ὅτι . . . . . συνπο-
λειτευομένων τρόπον οἵ του . . . . . ειν χά-
ριν εἰς θέας καὶ διανομὰς καὶ τὰ τῶν . . . . . ω
τὴν φιλοτιμίαν, ἀλλὰ δι' οὗ πρὸς το . . . . . εμνο
. . . . . σειν τὴν πόλιν προῄρηται. Τὸ ψήφισμα ἔπεμψεν
. . . . . Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ κράτιστος ἀνθύπατος. Εὐτυχεῖτε.

No. 3.

The Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Hadrian, grandson of the deified Trajan, conqueror of Parthia, descendant of the deified Nerva, Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribune of the People for the eighth time, Imperator for the second time, Consul for the fourth time, Father of his country, to the Magistrates of the Ephesians, and to the Council and the People, greeting:

The public spirit shown to you by Vedius Antoninus I have learnt not so much from your letters as from his. For being desirous to obtain assistance from me for the general plan of the works which he proposed (or offered) to execute for you, he explained how many buildings and of what size he proposes to add to the city; but you did not accept his proposals in the right spirit, while I both agreed to what he requested and approved his designs, because . . . . . .

. . . . . .

This decree is sent by . . . . . Julianus, the most worthy proconsul. Farewell.

No. 4.

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ
Ἀδριανοῦ υἱὸς, θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ
Παρθικοῦ υἱωνὸς, Θεοῦ Νερ-
ούα ἔκγονος, Τίτος Αἴλιος Ἀδριανὸς
Ἀντωνεῖνος Σεβαστὸς, ἀρχιερεὺς
μέγιστος δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ
ιγ, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ β, ὕπατος τὸ δ,
πατὴρ πατρίδος, Ἐφεσίων τοῖς
ἄρχουσι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ
χαίρειν.
Εἰδότι μοι δηλοῦτε τὴν φιλοτιμίαν
ἣν Οὐήδιος Ἀντωνεῖνος φιλοτιμεῖ-
ται πρὸς ὑμᾶς ο . . . . . παρ' ἐμοῦ
χάριτας εἰς τὸν εὐεργέτην τῆς πό-
λεως.
τὸ ψήφισμα ἔπεμψεν . . . . . .
Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ κράτιστος
ἀνθύπατος. Εὐτυχεῖτε.

No. 4.

The Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Hadrian, grandson of the deified Trajan, conqueror of Parthia, descendant of the deified Nerva, Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribune of the People for the thirteenth time, Imperator for the second time, Consul for the fourth time, Father of his country, to the Magistrates of the Ephesians, and to the Council and People, greeting:

I am aware of the public spirit which you show me that Vedius Antoninus exercises towards you, ... from me thanks to the benefactor of the city.

This decree is sent by . . . . . Julianus, the most worthy Proconsul. Farewell.

No. 5 is a decree of Antoninus Pius, but it is too fragmentary for publication.

No. 6.

(*On the base of a statue found in the Odeum.*)

Λούκιον Αἴλιον Αὐρήλιον Κόμμοδον τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ
Αὐτοκράτορος Οὐήδιος Ἀντωνεῖνος.

This statue to Lucius Aelius Aurelius Commodus, the son of the Emperor, was set up by Vedius Antoninus.

INSCRIPTIONS

FROM

THE GREAT THEATRE

Inscription No. 1.—Column 1.

ΕΠΙ ΠΡΥΤΑΝΕΩΣ

ΤΙΒ. ΚΛ. ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΡΟΥ ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ ΜΗΝΟΣ

ΠΟΣΙΔΕΩΝΟΣ ς ΙΣΤΑΜΕΝΟΥ

Ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ Νεωκορῷ δημῷ φιλοσεβάστῳ

Περὶ ὧν ἐνεφάνισαν Τιβ. Κλ. Τιβ. Κλ. Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱὸς Κυρ.

Ἰουλιανὸς φιλόπατρις καὶ φιλοσέβαστος ἁγνὸς εὐσεβὴς

γραμματεὺς τοῦ δημοῦ τὸ β, καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῆς πόλεως φιλοσέ-

βαστοι . . . . . φιλοτείμους ἄνδρας περὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ κατὰ

πάντα ἀπέδειξαν στοργὴν γνησίων πολειτῶν ἀμοιβαὶ

. . . . . τὸ ἀπολαύειν μὲν τοὺς ει . . σαν

. . . . . βουλομένοις περὶ . . . .

Ὁμοία ἀμοιβὴ . . . . . ἐσπουδακότας τὴν μεγίστην θε-

ὸν Ἄρτεμιν ἧς δι᾽ εὐεργεσίας πάντα γίνεται πᾶσιν τὰ κάλλιστα·

καθηκει . . .

παρὰ τῇ πόλει . . . . . τε Οὐίβιος Σαλουτάριος ἀ-

νὴρ ἱππικῆς τάξιος γένει καὶ Ἀσίᾳ διάσημος στρατείαις τε καὶ

ἐπιτροπαῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτορος κεκοσμημένος

No. 1.—Column 1.

In the presidency of Tiberius Claudius Antipater Julianus, on the sixth day of the first decad of the month Poseideon (end of December).

It was resolved by the Council and the public assembly of the Neocori,[1] friends of Augustus.

Respecting the matters in which Tiberius Claudius, Julianus, son of Tiberius Claudius Alexander, of the Carenean (Cyrenean) tribe, friend of his country and friend of Augustus, a virtuous and honourable man, scribe to the Assembly for the second time, and the Praetors of the city, friends of Augustus, have shown themselves to have been men of public spirit towards their country, and in [all things have exhibited] the affectionate regard of true-born citizens, requitals [shall be made to them] —— for the enjoyment of ——

A like requital [shall remunerate?] those who have shown zeal towards the very mighty goddess Artemis [from whose goodness?] there come to all the most excellent gifts . . . . . and Vibius Salutarius, a man of equestrian rank in family, and illustrious in Asia, decorated by our lord the Emperor with

[1] Or perhaps, 'Meeting of the Temple-keepers.' The interpretation of this mutilated inscription is in many parts very uncertain.

πολείτης ἡμέτερος καὶ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ συνεδρίου πρὸς πα
. . . αθηχρω . . . . . διαθέσεως καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης επι τοι τς
. . προκοπὰς κοσμήσας τῶν ἠθῶν σεμνότητι εὐσεβῶν μὲν φιλοτει-
μίαις τὴν ἀρχηγέτιν . . ταῖς μὲν ἐπινοίαις ἐσπούδακεν περὶ τὴν θρησκ-
είαν μεγαλόψυχος καὶ καθιερώσεσιν τὴν πόλιν καταπαν . . . . .
κεν πρὸς δὲ παρῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὑπέσχετο δὲ ἀ-
πεικονίσματα . . . . . ἓν μὲν χρύσεον ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἀργύρε . . .
ἐπίχρυσα, ἕτερα ἀπεικονίσματα ὀκτὼ ἐπίχρυσα

Column 2.

Καὶ τελεῖν τόκον δραχμεῖον καὶ ἀσσαριαῖον
. . αἱρεθησομένων καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν κα-
τὰ τὴν διάταξιν αὐτοῦ τῇ γενεσίῳ τῆς θεοῦ ἡμέρᾳ
ἥτις ἐστὶν τοῦ θαργηλιῶνος μηνὸς ἕκτη ἱσταμένου
ὑπολογήσας . ἀποδώσειν τὰ χρήματα δὲ αὐτὸν τὰ κα-
θιερωμένα ὅταν βουλῇ τη η τοὺς κληρονόμους αὖ-

military commands and embassies, a citizen of ours, and a member of the Supreme Council in assembly.

—— having adorned it by the dignity of his character, showing pious regard by his liberal gifts for the [goddess] the foundress of the city, has shown zealous intentions in her religious service by his munificence, and by dedications to the temple has in all respects done honour to the city, and moreover came forward to the assembly and engaged to contribute (or consecrate) effigies, one of gold, in which also silver —— plated with gold, and other eight effigies plated with gold . . . . . .

Column 2.

and will (or shall) pay interest of a drachma and an as —— who shall be chosen each year according to his schedule on the birthday of the goddess, which is the sixth of the first decad of the month Thargelion (May), after reckoning up the amount; and (that) the money shall be paid which has been devoted to the service of the Temple, whenever a council is con-

τοῦ τῇ πόλει κομιζομένων τῶν ἑκάστου προσόδων
προισταμένων. περὶ ὧν ἁπάντων διάταξιν εἰσηγήσα-
το . . ο . . σεν ἐπικυρωθῆναι καὶ διὰ ψηφισμάτων . . . .
. . . . . ν τῆς ἐπαναστάσεως . . . .
. . . . . ἀνὴρ καὶ εὐεργέτας ακο . . λλι
Οὐέττιος Πρόκλος καὶ Ἀφράνιος Φλαουια-
νὸς ὁ κράτιστος πρεσβευτὴς ἀντιστράτηγος . . . . ἀνυπερβλήτῳ
. . . . . ντες τὴν
. . . . . πολεῖταιιι
. . . . . καὶ δι' ἐπιστολῶν
. . . . . ευσαν ὥστε δι
. . . . . ου αὐτὸ
Δ . . . . . εὐσεβῆ
. . . . . εἰς δὲ τὴν θεὸν φιλότειμόν τε
τε . . . . . μεγίσταις τιμαῖς . . . . . ον τε ἀναστασε-
σιν ερ . . . ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἐν τοῖς ἐπισημοτάτοις
τόποις τῆς πόλεως ἀναγραψαμένων . . . . . τον καὶ χρυσέῳ
στεφάνῳ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις . . . . . ιζων τὰ καὶ φιλάρ-
τεμιν—Τὴν δὲ παρ . . . . . τῶν προγεγραμμένων ἱε-
ρῷ . . . ων καὶ τὴν . . . . . ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ εἰς τὸ θέα-

vened, by his heirs, those persons who are appointed to [collect] the revenue of each receiving it for the State; with respect to all which —— has proposed that a schedule shall be sanctioned (by the Council) and . . . . . .

Vettius Proclus and Afranius Flavianus the most excellent Legate Proprætor . . . . . .

NOTE. *The interpretation of the first part of this column is very doubtful. The latter portion is too fragmentary to be intelligible.*

Either αὐτὸν *or* τοὺς κληρονόμους (*lines* 5 *and* 6) *seems grammatically incorrect, unless we read* ὅταν βούληται, *whenever he wishes that his heirs, &c.*, or τὰ χρήματα δὲ αὐτοῦ, or, 'that his heirs shall pay the money that has been consecrated by him αὐτῷ (?) to the State.'

. . . . . in the temple of Artemis, in the most conspicuous positions in the city . . . . . and with a golden crown in the assemblies . . . . . and a friend of Artemis . . . . . of the aforementioned . . . . . and the . . . . . from the temple to the theatre

τρον καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος

. . . . . .

τος . . . . . .

. . . . . ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ . . . .

. . . . . αὐτοῦ μαρμαρίνῳ . . . .

. . . . . τῷ ἐν τόπῳ ἐπιτηδείῳ φιλοτει-

μήματι . . . . . καὶ περὶ τῆς διανομῆς τῷ καθι-

ερωμένῳ . . . . . μάτων - τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ τῇ Σεβα-

στο . . . . . οις ὑπέσχετο αὐτὸς καὶ γερου-

σίᾳ . . . . . ἐκδανειστὴς γενέσθαι . . . . . .

Column 3.

Γάιος Οὐίβιος, Γ. υἱὸς, Οὐωφεντείνᾳ, Σαλουτάριος διάτα-

ξιν εἰσφέρει κατὰ τὸ γεγονὸς ψήφισμα . . . . . .

Ἐφεσίων βουλῇ καὶ τῇ φιλοσεβάστῃ γερουσίᾳ . . . .

ταῖς ὑπ . . . . . Ἀρ-

τέμιδος . . . . . .

τῇ Ἐφ . . . . . σὶ καὶ . . . . . .

φ . . . . . .

(*A lacuna of* 6 *lines.*)

and that from the theatre to the temple of Artemis;

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . in the theatre . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . and for the distribution of the sums consecrated, he engaged that he would himself [pay them] to the council, and to the most august goddess, and would himself give a loan of them to the assembly of elders.

Gaius Vibius Salutarius, son of Gaius, of the Vofentine tribe, introduces a disposition according to the decree already passed. . . . . the Council of the Ephesians and the assembly of elders, the friend of Augustus . . . . . of Artemis

The enumeration of the images dedicated to Artemis by Gaius Vibius Salutarius appears to have been here commenced. The list is continued on the following pages.

. . . . . ὁλκῆς λειτρῶν [?] οὐνκιῶν γ̄. καὶ εἰκὼν . . .

15 Ἔφε . . . . . ὁλκῆς λειτρῶν γ̄. Νεοκόρωνται παρὰ Σαλουταρίῳ αὐτῷ καθιερωκότι, μετὰ δὲ τὴν Σαλουταρίου τελευτὴν ἀποδοθῶσιν αἱ προδηλούμεναι εἰκόνες τῷ Ἐφεσίων γραμματεῖ προγεγραμμένῳ σταθμῷ ἀπὸ τῶν κληρονόμων αὐτοῦ, ὡρισθῇ δὲ αὐτὰς τίθεσθαι ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐπάνω τῆς σελίδος τῆς βουλῆς πρὸ τῆς

20 χρυσέας Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἰκόνων. Ἄρτεμις δὲ χρυσέα ὁλκῆς λειτρῶν τριῶν καὶ αἱ περὶ αὐτὴν ἀργύρεοι ἔλαφοι δύο καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ . . . . . ὁλκῆς λειτρῶν δύο, οὐνκιῶν δέκα, γραμμάτων πέντε, καὶ εἰκὼν ἀργυρέα τῆς ἱερᾶς συνκλήτου, ὁλκῆς λειτρῶν δ̄, οὐνκιῶν β̄, καὶ εἰκὼν ἀργυρέα τῆς φιλοσεβάστου καὶ σεμνοτάτης Ἐφεσίων βουλῆς, ὁλκῆς λειτρῶν [?]

25 οὐνκιῶν δ̄, γραμμάτων θ̄, τὰ καὶ αὐτὰ καθιερωμένα τῇ τε Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ τῇ φιλοσεβάστῳ Ἐφεσίων βουλῇ· Ὁμοίως καὶ ἀργυρέα Ἄρτεμις λαμπαδηφόρος ὁλκῆς λ̄ζ̄ καὶ εἰκὼν ἀργυρέα τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων ὁλκῆς λειτρῶν [?]. . . καὶ εἰκὼν ἀργυρέα τῆς φιλοσεβάστου γερουσίας ὁλκῆς λειτρῶν [?] τὰ καὶ αὐτὰ καθιερωμένα τῇ τε Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ τῇ Ἐφεσίων γερουσίᾳ . . . . .

30 Ὁμοίως καὶ ἄλλη Ἄρτεμις ἀργυρέα λαμπαδηφόρος ε . . . . . τη ἐν τῇ ἐξέδρᾳ τῶν ἐφήβων ὁλκῆς λ̄ζ̄ οὐνκιῶν ε̄, γραμμάτων [?] καὶ εἰκὼν ἀργυρέα τοῦ ἱππικοῦ τάγματος ὁλκῆς λ̄γ̄-ημιουν-

of the weight of [?] pounds three ounces, and [let ?] a statue of .... of the weight of three pounds be religiously kept in the custody of Salutarius, who himself consecrated it ; and after Salutarius' death, let the afore-described statues be restored to the scribe (Registrary ?) of the Ephesians according to the afore-named weight by his (Salutarius') heirs ; and let it be made a rule that they be placed at the public meetings above the seat of the Council (in the theatre ?), in front of the golden statue of Artemis and the other statues. And a golden Artemis weighing three pounds, and the two silver deer attending her, and the rest of the [images ?] of the weight of two pounds ten ounces and five grammes, and a silver statue of the sacred Senate, of the weight of four pounds two ounces, and a silver statue of the loyal and most venerable Council of the Ephesians, of the weight of — pounds four ounces nine grammes, which were themselves also consecrated to Artemis, as well as to the worshipful Council of the Ephesians. Likewise (item) a silver Artemis bearing a torch, of the weight of six pounds, and a silver statue of the Roman people of the weight of — pounds, and a silver statue of the most worshipful assembly of elders of the weight of [? pounds], [all] which were themselves also consecrated to Artemis as well as to the assembly of elders of the Ephesians. Item, another Artemis of silver bearing a torch, [which stands ?] in the exhedra of the young men, of the weight of six pounds five ounces — grammes ; and a silver statue of the Equestrian Order of the weight of three pounds and half an ounce

κίου γραμμάτων δ̄, καὶ ἄλλη εἰκὼν ἀργυρέα τῆς Ἐφηβείας . . . .
τὰ καὶ αὐτὰ καθιερωμένα τῇ τε Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ τοῖς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον

35 *The position of this fragment is doubtful.*

ἐφήβοις . . . . .
φιάλην ὁλκῆς . . . .
Σεβαστο . . . . .

Column 4.

. . . . . σι
. . . . . .
. . . . . ἐπὶ
. . . . . καὶ
5 . . . . . τῶν ἱερα
. . . . . ἐπιτελεῖ ταῖς
. . . . . Ὁμοίως καὶ ἀργυρέα Ἄρτεμις λαμπαδηφό-
ρος . . . . . ρις καὶ εἰκὼν
ἀργυρέα . . . . . ε Ἀρτέμιδι
10 . . . . . Ὁμοίως καὶ ἄλλη Ἄρ-
τεμις ὁλκῆς λειτρῶν [?] οὐνκιῶν γ ἡμιουνκίου (?) γραμμα-
τῶν [?] Ὁμοίως καὶ εἰκὼν ἀργυρέα φυλῆς Εὐ-

and four grammes; and another silver statue of the company of the Ephebi, [all] which were themselves also consecrated to Artemis as well as to those who . . . . . each year. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . a libation-vessel (patera) of the weight . . . . . .

. . . . . loyal

Column 4.

The list of images dedicated to Artemis by G. Vibius Salutarius appears to have been continued in this column.

. . . . . shall contribute to the

Likewise [item] a silver Artemis

bearing a torch . . . . . and a silver

image . . . . . to Artemis

Likewise [item] another

Artemis of the weight of pounds [?], ounces $3\frac{1}{2}$, grammes [?] . . .

Likewise a silver image of the Euonymian tribe,

ωνύμου . . . . . τὰ καθιερωμέ-

να . . . . . καὶ εἰκὼν ἀργυρέα φυλῆς

. . . . . σταδι-

. . . . . καὶ εἰκὼν

ἀργυρέα φυλῆς . . . . . τε

. . . . . .

. . . . . ν τῆς θε-

. . . . . ου τῷ

. . . . . ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς

Ἀρτέμιδος . . . . . ἐπὶ τῶν

. . . . . ξαν κατα

. . . . . ἱερα τι

. . . . . κατὰ σε

. . . . . τοις βα

. . . . . τὰ καθιε-

ρωμένα . . . . . .

(*A lacuna of* 10 *lines.*)

. . . . . ου ἢ τὰς εἰκόνας πρὸς τὸ

. . . . . τινι τρόπῳ κακουργηθῆναι ἐπὶ

. . . . . ἔστω ἱεροσυλία καὶ ἀσέβεια καὶ οὐδὲν

. . . . . the consecrated offerings . . . . . and a silver image of the . . . . . tribe . . . . .

. . . . . θμος ἐν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις ἀπεικονίσ-
μασι . . . . . ρία ἔχοντος τὴν περὶ τούτων ἐκδικίαν ἐπ' ἀνάν
. . . . . - Τῶν δὲ καθιερωμένων ὑπὸ Σαλουτα-
ρίου τελέσει τόκον Σαλουτάριος δραχμιαῖον καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνι-
αυτὸν τὰ γεινόμενα δηνάρια χίλια ὀκτακόσια ἀφ' ὧν δώσει τῷ γραμμα-
τεῖ τῆς βουλῆς δηνάρια τετρακόσια πεντήκοντα ὅπως ἐπιτελεῖ διανομὴν
τοῖς βουλευταῖς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐν τῷ προνάῳ τῇ γενεσίῳ τῆς μεγίστης θεᾶς Ἀρ-
τέμιδος, ἥ ἐστιν μηνὸς Θαργειλιῶνος ἕκτη ἱσταμένου γεινομένης τῆς διανο-
μῆς τῆς πέμπτης, διδομένου ἑκάστῳ τῶν παρόντων δηναρίου ἑνὸς,
καὶ ἐχόντος ἐξουσίαν τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς διανομῆς ἀπόντι δοῦναι καὶ ἀποτεῖσαι
τῇ βουλῇ ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου ὀνόματος τοῦ μὴ παραγενομένου καὶ λαβόντος.

Column 5.

(*A lacuna of some lines.*)

. . . . . ισα . . . . . τοῖς
. . . . . ανα . . . . . αιλω καὶ
. . . . . τοῦ κλήρου γεινομένου
. . . . . σία ἢ τοῦ γραμματέος τῆς
βουλῆς . . . . . ην η ἀναγραφὴν μετα

. . . . . in the aforementioned effigies . . . . . having the right of demanding satisfaction for these. . . . . .

And for the sums dedicated by Salutarius to the use of the Temple, Salutarius shall pay interest, at the rate of a drachma [for each mina, i.e. 12 per cent.], yearly the one thousand eight hundred denarii accruing, from which he shall pay to the Secretary of the Council four hundred and fifty denarii, that he may carry out the division of revenue to the members of the Council in the Temple in the pronaos on the birthday of the mighty goddess Artemis, which is the sixth of the first decad of the month Thargelion (May), when the fifth distribution takes place, one denarius being given to each of those present, and the person presiding over the distribution having the right to give to (or for) anyone absent [and] to pay it to the Council for each name [i.e. each member] not present and not receiving it.

Column 5.

(*A lacuna of some lines.*)

The first part of this column is quite unintelligible.

. . . . . ἀποτεισάτω πρόστειμον

. . . . . Ὁμοίως ἀπὸ τοῦ προγε-

γραμμένου τόκου κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον καὶ ταῖς ἓξ φυ-

λαῖς . . . . . κλῆρον τῆς προγεγραμ-

ένης . . . . . τῆς φυλῆς εἰς ὀνόματα δι-

. . . . . των ληξομένων ἀσσάρια θ

. . . . . γενόμενος κόλλυβος ὑπο

. . . . . πολείτας κληροῦσθαι

Ὁμοίως δώσει ἀπὸ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου τόκου κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν

ἕκαστον . . . . . ὅπως ἐπιτελῇ κλῆρον

. . . . . τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος

. . . . . ων τῶν ληξο-

μένων . . . . . ὁ ἐφήβαρχος χω-

ρὶς . . . . . Ὁμοίως δώσει ἀπὸ τοῦ προγεγραμμέ-

νου τόκου τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ναοῦ κοινοῦ

τῆς Ἀσίας . . . ὅπως . . . . κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκασ-

τον τῇ γενεσίῳ τῆς Θεοῦ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιτελεῖ

. . . . . τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος λαμ-

. . . . . δὲ ἀναγραψαμένων

. . . . . γεινομένης τῆς ἀνα-

. . . . . let them pay a fine . . . . . Likewise [he shall give] from the aforesaid specified interest yearly to the six tribes . . . . . a share in the aforementioned . . . . . to the tribe, to the persons named . . . . . [who shall get] as their share nine asses . . . . . Likewise he shall give from the afore-specified interest yearly . . . . . that he may contribute a share . . . . . of Artemis . . . . . the captain of the young men . . . . Likewise he shall give from the afore-specified interest to the high-priest of the common temple of Asia at Ephesus . . . that . . . . . yearly on the birthday of the Goddess he may pay . . . . . that . . . . . of Artemis . . . . . .

γραφῆς - Ὁμοίως δώσει ἀπὸ τοῦ προγεγραμ-
μένου τόκου . . . . τῇ ἱερείᾳ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος
. . . . . ι . τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος εἰς
. . . . Ὁμοίως δώσει ἀπὸ τοῦ προγεγραμ-
μένου τόκου κατ' ἐκκλησίαν δυσὶν νεοποι-
οῖς τοῦ ἱεροῦ . . . . . σθαι ἐκ τοῦ προνάου
τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τὰ ἀπεικονίσματα τῆς θεοῦ καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας καὶ
τὰ ἄλλα ἀπεικονίσματα ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου εἰς τὸν πρόναον αὐθήμε-
ρον δη . . . . . Ὁμοίως δώσει ἀπὸ τοῦ προγεγραμμέ-
νου τόκου καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ τοῖς παιδονόμοις
αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ γενεσίῳ τῆς θεοῦ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιτελε-
ῖσθαι . . . . . τῶν εἰς ὀνόματα Μ Θ λαμβανόν-
των . . . . . η ἡμέρᾳ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος
. . . . . ιτων καὶ τῶν παιδονόμων χωρὶς
. . . . . Ὁμοίως δώσει ἀπὸ τοῦ προγεγραμ-
μένου τόκου καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν τῷ τὰ καθάρσια ποιοῦντι παρε-
. . . . . τὰ λοιπὰ δη- τριάκοντα ὥστε κα-
θαρὰ . . . . . εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἀποφέρηται τὰ ἀπεικο-
νίσματα . . . . . καὶ αὐτὰ εἰς τὸν πρόναον τῆς Ἀρτέ-
μιδος ἀποκαθίστηται κατ' ἰδίαν προαίρεσιν ἀγορᾶς ἢ

. . . . . Likewise he shall give from the afore-specified interest . . . . . to the priestess of Artemis . . . . . of Artemis to the . . . . . Likewise he shall give from the afore-specified interest at every assembly to the two Curators of the temple, whose duty it shall be to carry (?), from the pronaos of Artemis, the effigies of the Goddess, and the images, and the other effigies, from the theatre to the pronaos on the same day. . . . . denarii.

Likewise, he shall give from the afore-specified interest yearly to those also who have the care of the boys' education, on the birthday of the goddess, to be paid . . . . . of those who receive up to the number of forty-nine . . on the — day in the Temple of Artemis . . . . . [the wages] of the —— and of the educators of the boys separately.

Item, he shall give from the afore-specified interest yearly to the person who performs the rites of purification . . . . . the remaining thirty denarii, so that [all] the effigies may be again carried back clean into the Temple, and may themselves also [be deposited] in the pronaos of Artemis, according to his own choice of the agora, or . . . . . .

. . . . . ηθη δίδοσθαι καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνι-
αυτὸν . . . . . τῶν τὰ προγεγραμμένα δη- χίλια
. . . . . τι διάταξιν εἰσενενκεῖν μηδὲν
ελλας σ . . . . . ἀλλὰ προσασφαλιζομένου .
'Εὰν δὲ . . . . . ηθη δὲ ἀποδοῦναι τάχειον τὰ τῆς
καθιερωμένης . . . . . ἔξεσται αὐτῷ ἐπ' ἀνάνκῃ ληψομέ-
νῳ τεῖσαι τῷ γραμματεῖ τῆς βουλῆς τὰ γεινόμενα ὑπὲρ τῶν
καθιερωμένων . . . . τοῦ ἀρχαίου δη - πεντάκις χίλια
'Ομοίως καὶ τῷ γραμματεῖ (?) τῆς γερουσίας τὰ γεινόμενα
ὑπὲρ τῶν καθιερωμένων τῇ γερουσίᾳ δη- τετράκις χί-
λια τετρακόσια πεντήκοντα—'Ομοίως καὶ τοῖς θεολόγοις
καὶ ὑμνῳδοῖς τὰ γεινόμενα ὑπὲρ τῆς καθιερώσεως ἀρχαίου
δη - διακόσια πεντήκοντα πέντε—'Ομοίως τῷ γραμματεῖ
τοῦ δήμου τὰ λοιπὰ γεινόμενα τοῦ ἀρχαίου ὑπὲρ τῆς καθιερώ-
σεως τῶν εἰς τοὺς πολείτας κλήρων καὶ ἐφήβων καὶ νεο-
ποιῶν καὶ σκηπτούχων καὶ καθαρσίων δη - μύρια διακόσια
ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε - ὅπως ἐκδανίζωσιν αὐτὰ ἐπὶ τόκῳ
ἀσσαρίων δεκάδυο ἀργυρῶν ἀδιάπτωτα καὶ ἐπιτελῆ-
ται καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τόκου τὰ διατεταγμέ-
να ἀνυπερθέτως ὡς προγέγραπται—'Εὰν δὲ πρὸ τοῦ ἀπο-

[*Nothing certain can be made of the next nine lines.*]

Item, to the Recorder of the Senate the proportion accruing for the offerings dedicated to the Senate, four thousand four hundred and fifty denarii. Item, to the Theologi and the singers of the goddess's praises, the proportion of the principal that accrues for the ceremony of consecration, two hundred and fifty-five denarii. Item, to the Recorder of the people (or popular assembly) the remaining sum accruing from the principal for the consecration of the allotments for the citizens and of the young men coming of age and the custodians of the Temple and the staff-bearers (or vergers) and the purifiers of the statues, twelve hundred and seventy-five denarii, that they may lend the said money on secure (or permanent) interest of twelve silver asses, and that the specified amounts be paid yearly out of the interest immediately as has been before appointed. And if, before repay-

δοῦναι τὰ δισμύρια δη. ἢ διατάξασθαι ἀπὸ προσόδου
χωρίων διδόσθαι τὸν τόκον αὐτῶν ἢ τελευτήσει
Σαλουτάριος, ὑποκείσθωσαν οἱ κληρόνομοι αὐτοῦ τῇ εὐ-
λυτήσει τῶν καθιερωμένων δη- δισμυρίων, καὶ τοῖς ἐπα-
κολουθήσασι τόκοις μέχρι τῆς εὐλυτήσεως, ὑποκει-
μένων αὐτῶν τῇ πράξει κατὰ τὰ ἱερὰ τῆς θεοῦ καὶ τὰ πα-
ρὰ τοῖς πρεσβευτέροις ἐκδανιστικὰ ἔνγραφα—Ὑπέσχετο
δὲ Σαλουτάριος ὥστε ἄρξεσθαι τὴν φιλοτειμίαν αὐτοῦ
τῷ ἐνεστῶτι ἔτει ἐν τῇ γενεσίῳ τῆς θεοῦ ἡμέρᾳ δώσειν
δη- χείλια ὀκτακόσια εἰς τὰς προγεγραμμένας διανομὰς
καὶ κλήρους. μηδὲν δὲ ἐξέστω τῷ ἄρχοντι ἢ ἐκ δικῶν ἰδιώ-
τῃ πειρᾶσαί τι ἀλλάξαι ἢ μεταθεῖναι ἢ μετοικονομῆσαι ἢ μετα-
ψηφίσασθαι τῶν καθιερωμένων ἀπεικονισμάτων ἢ τοῦ
ἀργυρίου ἢ τῆς προσόδου αὐτοῦ ἢ μεταθεῖναι εἰς ἕτερον πόρον
ἢ ἀνάλωμα ἢ ἄλλο τι ποιῆσαι παρὰ τὰ προγεγραμμένα καὶ δια-
τεταγμένα, ἐπεὶ τὸ γενόμενον παρὰ ταῦτα ἔστω ἄκυρον.
Ὁ δὲ πειράσας ἂν ποιῆσαί τι ὑπεναντίον τῇ διατάξει ἢ τοῖς
ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου ἐψηφισμένοις καὶ ἐπικεκυ-
ρωμένοις πρὸ ταύτης τῆς διατάξεως, ἀποτεισάτω εἰς
προσκόσμημα τῆς μεγίστης θεᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος δη- δισμύρια

ing the twenty thousand denarii, or making arrangements for the interest thereof to be paid from the rent of the farms, Salutarius shall depart this life, let his heirs be liable for the speedy settlement of the twenty thousand denarii that have been consecrated to the goddess, and for the accruing interest till the time of such settlement, they being subject to having the payment enforced, after the manner of the other sacred property of the goddess, and according to the tables of money-lending in the hands of the Elders. Salutarius further promised, with a view to his munificent gift commencing in the present year on the birth-day of the goddess, that he would give one thousand eight hundred denarii towards the afore-specified distributions and allotments. And be it not permitted to the Archon, or to any private person by right of any legal decisions, to endeavour to change or to transfer or otherwise dispense or alter by any decree of the people any of the consecrated images or the money or the revenue from it, or to transfer it to any other fund or expenditure, or to do anything else with it other than what has been prescribed and appointed; since [it is decreed] that anything done contrary to these regulations be of no effect. And let anyone who shall have endeavoured to do anything contrary to the disposition or to the purposes sanctioned and ratified by vote of the Council and the People, previous to this present disposition, pay towards the adorning of the mighty goddess Artemis twenty-five thousand denarii, and to the Imperial

πεντάκις χείλια καὶ εἰς τὸν τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ φίσκον ἄλλα Δη- M̊ E
ἡ δὲ προγεγραμμένη διάταξις ἔστω κυρία εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρό-
νον καθὼς . . . . . Οὐέττιος Πρόκλος εὐεργέτης
καὶ ἀνθύπατος καὶ Ἄφρανιος Φλαουιανὸς ὁ κράτιστος πρεσβευτὴς
καὶ ἀντιστρατηγὸς διὰ ἐπιστολῶν περὶ ταύτης τῆς διατάξε-
ως ἐπεκύρωσαν καὶ ὥρισαν τὸ προγεγραμμένον πρόστιμον.
Γάϊος Οὐείβιος Γαΐου υἱὸς Ὠφεντείνᾳ[1] Σαλουτάριος εἰσενήνοχα
τὴν διάταξιν καὶ καθιέρωσα τὰ προγεγραμμένα.

[1] *Sic*, for Οὐωφεντείνᾳ, i.e. Vofentina.

Column 6.

ΕΠΙ ΠΡΥΤΑΝΕΩΣ ΤΙΒ. ΚΛ. ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΡΟΥ ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ

ΑΦΡΑΝΙΟΣ ΦΛΑΟΥΙΑΝΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΣ

χαίρειν

Οὐέττιος Πρόκλος εὐεργέτης καὶ ἀνθύπατος

. . . . . λιτου αρισ-

. . . . . ος των οικιο

privy purse other twenty-five thousand denarii. And let the prescribed disposition be in force for all time according as . . . . . Vettius Proclus, the public benefactor and proconsul, and Afranius Flavianus, the most excellent legate and propraetor, have by letter respecting this disposition ratified and determined the afore-mentioned fine.

I, Gaius Vibius Salutarius, son of Gaius, of the Voventine tribe introduced this disposition and dedicated the afore-mentioned gifts.

Column 6.

In the presidency of Tiberius Claudius Antipater Julianus.

Afranius Flavianus Propraetor,

greeting :

Vettius Proclus the public benefactor and proconsul,

(*Unintelligible.*)

τ . . . . . λοσεν πολλοις

ε . . . . . νως εχει προσ-

υ . . . . . η την εαυτου

. α . . . . . την πολιν εχει

φαν . . . . . πρεποντων.

τεβ . . . . . κοσμε . . . . .

καρσ . . . . . ακοιναι . . . . . καὶ

επισ . . . . . εἰς τειμὴν καὶ εὐσέβειαν ἐπι-

φανε . . . . . Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τοῦ οἴκου τῶν Αὐτοκρατο-

ρων δε . . . . . ματων αφιε . . . . . φιλοτειμου-

μένους . . . . . αι ὑμεῖν τε περὶ τἀνδρὸς χάριτας τίσων

περὶ εὐμενείας . α . . . μηνυσαι μαρτυρῆσαι τῇ δὲ εὐφημίᾳ τῇ

προσηκούσῃ αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀμείψασθαι οσ . . αυτω καὶ πα-

ρ . . ω . . . . δεσθαι νόμιζω πρὸς τὸ καὶ πλείους εἶναι τοὺς

ὁμοίως προθυμουμένους εἰ οὗτος φαινομένης κατὰ τὴν

ἀξίαν ἀμοιβῆς τυνχάνοι . . . ἐπειδὰν κἀμοὶ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα

κεχαρισμένον καὶ ἥδιστον εἰ ὃν ἐξαιρέτως τῶν φίλων

τειμῶ καὶ στέργω παρ᾽ ὑμεῖν ὁρῴην ἢ μαρτυρίας καὶ τειμῆς

ἀξιούμενον. Περὶ μέν τοι ταύτης τῶν χρημάτων διατά-

ξεως καὶ τῶν ἀπεικονισμάτων τῆς θεοῦ καὶ τῶν εἰκόνων

[*The first part of this column is too fragmentary for even a conjectural restoration of the text. The latter lines refer to the expediency of encouraging public spirit by honouring those who have already shown it.*]

. . . . . since[1] to myself also it would be especially grateful and most agreeable if I should see one of my friends whom I so highly honour and affectionately regard thought deserving of a testimony and an honour in your city. With respect however to this disposition of the property and the effigies of the goddess and the images,

[1] ἐπειδὰν [ἦ] seems by a late Greek use to represent *cum sit*, which in the earlier Attic idiom would be ἐπειδή ἐστι. But probably δοκεῖ μοι is the right reading.

ὅπως αὐτοῖς δεήσει χρῆσθαι καὶ εἰς ἥντινα οἰκονομίαν
ἄνδρα τετάχθαι, αὐτόν τε τὸν ἀνατιθέντα εἰσηγήσασθαι
νομίζω εὔλογον εἶναι, καὶ ὑμᾶς οὕτως ψηφίσασθαι. ἐπει-
δὰν δὲ ὑπό τε αὐτοῦ τοῦ καθιεροῦντος καὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν κυρω-
θῇ τὰ δόξαντα, βούλομαι ταῦτα εἰσαεὶ μένειν ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν
ἀπαραλλάκτως ὑπὸ μηδένος μηδεμιᾷ[1] παρενχειρήσει λυ-
όμενα ἢ μετατιθέμενα. εἰ δέ τις πειραθείη ὁπωσοῦν ἢ συν-
βουλεῦσαί τι τοιοῦτον ἢ εἰσηγήσασθαι περὶ τῆς μεταθεσε-
ως καὶ μεταδιοικήσεως τῶν νῦν ὑπό τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑφ' ὑ-
μῶν κυρηθησομένων, τοῦτον ἀνυπερθέτως βούλομαι
ἐς μὲν τὸ τῆς μεγίστης θεᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν καταθέσ-
θαι πρόστειμον δη M. πεντάκις χίλια, εἰς δὲ τὸν τοῦ
Σεβαστοῦ φίσκον ἄλλα Δη. M. πεντάκις χίλια, καὶ . . τῇ
γερουσίᾳ . . . . . ἄλλα Δη . μύρια πεντακισχίλια
καθ . . . . . ἀνθύπατος
και . . . . . ἐπιστολῆς
εγ . . . . . Ἔρρωσθε.

[1] ΜΗΔΕΜΙΑΝ on the stone.

to decide how it will be proper to apply them and for what purpose connected with the Temple a man should be appointed, I think it reasonable that both the person dedicating them should introduce a decree, and that you should pass it accordingly. And as soon as the measures approved shall have been ratified [finally passed] by the person himself who dedicates them and by yourselves, I desire that these provisions should remain for ever on the same footing without being changed, neither relaxed nor altered by any one by any stealthy contrivance. And if anyone should attempt in any way whatever either to recommend to another any of such proceedings, or to introduce any decree respecting the alteration and different administration of the provisions which have now to be ratified by the donor himself and by you, I desire that he should immediately pay into the Temple of the mighty goddess Artemis a fine of twenty-five thousand denarii, and to the privy purse of the august Emperor other twenty-five thousand denarii, and to the . . . . . other fifteen thousand denarii.

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

Farewell.

ΕΠΙ ΠΡΥΤΑΝΕΩΣ ΤΙΒ. ΚΛ. ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΡΟΥ ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ.

ΜΗΝΟΣ . . . . . .

Ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ φιλοσεβάστῳ περὶ ὧν ἐνεφάνισαν Τιβ - Κλαυ - Τιβ. Κλ - Ἀλεξάνδρου - υἱ - Κυρ[1]- Ἰουλιανὸς φιλόπατρις καὶ φιλοσέβαστος ἁγνὸς εὐσεβὴς, γραμματεὺς τοῦ δήμου τὸ β̄. καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῆς πόλεως φιλοσέβαστοι. ὅπως ἐξῇ τοῖς χρυσοφοροῦσιν φέρειν εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας τὰ ἀπεικονίσματα καὶ εἰκόνας τὰ καθιερωμένα ὑπὸ Γαΐου Οὐειβίου Σαλουταρίου ἐκ τοῦ προνάου τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος συνεπιμελουμένων καὶ τῶν νεοποιῶν συνπαραλαμβανόντων καὶ τῶν ἐφήβων ἀπὸ τῆς Μαγνητικῆς πύλης καὶ συνπροπεμπόντων μέχρι τῆς Κορησσικῆς πύλης, Δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ φιλοσεβάστῳ καθότι προγέγραπται - Τιβ. Κλαυ. Πρωρέσιος Φρητωριανὸς φιλοσέβαστος δεδογματογράφηκα - Μάρκος Καισέλλιος Μαρκιανὸς φιλοσέβαστος δεδογματογράφηκα.

Τιβ. Κλαυ. Ἰουλιανὸς φιλόπατρις καὶ φιλοσέβαστος ἁγνὸς εὐσεβὴς ὁ γραμματεὺς τοῦ δημοῦ το β̄. ἐχάραξα

[1] Perhaps Καρ. ; *vide* note, p. 34.

In the Presidency of Tiberius Claudius Antipater Julianus.

In the month of . . . . . .

It seemed good to the Council in its respect for the Imperial authority, with regard to the subjects explained to it by Tiberius Claudius Julianus, son of Tib. Claudius Alexander, of the Cyrenean (Carenaean?) tribe, lover of his country and friend of Augustus, virtuous and devout, scribe (secretary) of the public assembly for the second time, and the praetors of the city, friends of Augustus.—In order that it be permitted to the gold-bearers to carry into the public assemblies and the games the effigies and statues which have been dedicated by Gaius Vibius Salutarius out of the Pronaos of the Temple of Artemis, the custodians of the Temple likewise taking charge, and the young men also joining in taking them from the Magnesian Gate, and accompanying them in the procession as far as the Coressian Gate; it is hereby decreed by the Council in its respect for the Imperial authority, as has been specified above.

. . . . . .

I, Tiberius Claudius Proresius Fratorianus, the friend of Augustus, have drawn up (or put in writing) this decree. I, Marcus Caesellius Marcianus, friend of Augustus, have drawn up this decree. And I, Tiberius Claudius Julianus, lover of my country, and friend of Augustus, virtuous and devout, Recorder to the popular assembly for the second time, have engraved it on the stone.

ἘΠΙ ΠΡΥΤΑΝΕΩΣ. ΤΙΒ. ΚΛ. ἈΝΤΙΠΑΤΡΟΥ ἸΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ ΜΗΝΟΣ ΠΟΣΕΙΔΕΩΝΟΣ

Ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ φιλοσεβάστῳ περὶ ὧν ἐνεφάνισαν Τιβ. Κλ. Τιβ. Κλ. Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱ. Κυρ.[1] Ἰουλιανὸς φιλόπατρις καὶ φιλοσέβαστος ἁγνὸς εὐσεβὴς, γραμματεὺς τοῦ δήμου τὸ β. καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῆς πόλεως φιλοσέβαστοι

Ἐπεὶ οἱ χρυσοφοροῦντες τῇ θεῷ ἱερεῖς καὶ ἱερονεῖκαι ὑπέσχοντο φέρειν καὶ αὖ φέρειν τὰ ἀπεικονίσματα τὰ καθιερωθέντα ὑπὸ Οὐειβίου Σαλουταρίου ητησδηποτετοπον (?) ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τὴν πρώτην σελίδα ὅπου ἡ εἰκὼν τῆς Ὁμονοίας, Δεδόχθαι ἔχειν αὐτοὺς τὸν τόπον καθίζειν δὲ πρὸς τὴν Εὐσέβειαν αὐτοὺς λευχειμονοῦντας – Δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ φιλοσεβάστῳ γενέσθαι καθότι προγέγραπται.

Γ. Αὐφίδιος Σιλούανος φιλοσέβαστος δεδογματογράφηκα

Λ. Μουνάτιος Βάσσος φιλοσέβαστος δεδογματογράφηκα

Νηρεὺς Θεοφίλου φιλοσέβαστος δεδογματογράφηκα

[1] ΚΥΡ. is certainly on the stone; perhaps the Υ is an error of the stone-cutter's for Α.

In the presidency of Tiberius Claudius Antipater Julianus.

In the month of Poseideon.

It seemed good to the Council in its respect for the Imperial authority, with regard to the subjects explained to it by Tiberius Claudius Julianus, son of Tiberius Claudius Alexander, of the Cyrenean (Carenaean?) tribe, lover of his country, and friend of Augustus, virtuous and devout, Recorder of the popular assembly for the second time, and the praetors of the city, friends of Augustus :

Whereas the priests who wear golden ornaments in honour of the goddess and the victors in the sacred games undertake to carry and carry back the effigies which have been dedicated by Vibius Salutarius, ... place in the theatre, viz. the first seat (row of seats) where the statue of Concord is placed ; it is hereby decreed ' that they shall have that place, and that they shall sit there facing the statue of Piety,' attired in white. It is hereby (likewise) decreed by the Council in its devotion to Augustus that it shall be as has been before specified.

I, Gaius Aufidius Silvanus, friend of Augustus, have drawn up (or put in writing) this decree. I, Lucius Munatius Bassus, friend of Augustus, have drawn up this decree. I, Nereus the son of Theophilus, friend of Augustus, have drawn up this decree.

ΣΕΣΤΩ ΑΤΤΙΩ ΣΟΥΒΟΥΡΑΝΩ Τ. Β. ΜΑΡΚΩ ΑΣΙ-
ΝΙΩ ΜΑΡΚΕΛΛΩ ΥΠΑΤΟΙΣ ΠΡΟ Η ΚΑΛΑΝΔΩΝ ΜΑΡΤΙΩΝ
ΕΠΙ ΠΡΥΤΑΝΕΩΣ ΤΙΒ. ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΡΟΥ ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥ
ΜΗΝΟΣ ΑΝΘΕΣΤΗΡΙΩΝΟΣ Β. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ.

Γάιος Οὐείβιος Γ. υἱ. Οὐωφεντείνα Σαλουτάριος φιλάρ-
τεμις καὶ φιλόκαισαρ διάταξιν εἰσφέρει κατὰ τὸ προγε-
γονὸς ψήφισμα περὶ ὧν προσκαθιέρωκε τῇ μεγίστῃ θεᾷ Ἐφε-
σίᾳ Ἀρτέμιδι, καὶ τῇ φιλοσεβάστῳ Ἐφεσίων βουλῇ
καὶ τῇ φιλοσεβάστῳ Ἐφεσίων γερουσίᾳ καὶ τοῖς χρυ-
σοφοροῦσι τῇ θεῷ καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν καὶ ἱερονείκαις πρὸ
πόλεως . . καὶ τοῖς . . . Ἐφεσίων παισὶ καὶ θεσ-
μῳδοῖς ναοῦ τῶν Σεβαστῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ κοινοῦ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ
ἀκροβάταις τῆς θεοῦ . . . . . τοῖς δικαίοις καὶ προστεί
μοις ὡς ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ διατάξει ἠσφάλισται—Εἰκό-
νων ἀργυρέων δύο . . . . σιων ὥστε αὐτὰς εἶναι σὺν τοῖς
ἀπεικονίσμασιν τῆς θεοῦ ἀριθμῷ τριάκοντα καὶ μίαν
καὶ ἀργυρίου ἄλλων δη- χειλίων πεντακοσίων ὥστε εἶναι
αὐτὰ σὺν τοῖς προκαθιερωμένοις δη. μυρίοις χιλίοις πεν-
τακοσίοις ἐφ' ᾧ εἰκὼν ἀργυρέα Ἀθηνᾶς παμμούσου ὁλκῆς
σὺν τῷ ἐπαργύρῳ τῆς βάσεως αὐτῆς λειτρῶν ἑπτὰ ἡμιουν-

In the consulship of Sextus Attius Suburanus for the second time, and of Marcus Asinius Marcellus, on the eighth day of the Calends of March, in the presidency of Tiberius Claudius Antipater Julianus, on the second of the month Anthesterion, a solemn day (?).

Gaius Vibius Salutarius, son of Gaius, of the Vofentine tribe, devoted to the service of Artemis, and a friend of Cæsar, proposes a disposition in accordance with the decree already passed, with respect to the property which he has before dedicated to the mighty goddess Artemis of Ephesus, and friend of Augustus, and to the Council of the Ephesians, devoted to the service of Augustus and to the Council of Elders, devoted to the service of the Emperor, and to the gold-bearers to the goddess, and to the priests and the victors in the sacred games, in honour of . . . . . without the city, and to the children of the Ephesians, and the deliverers of oracles belonging to the Temple [of the Augusti at Ephesus] which is the common possession of all Asia, and to the acrobat-performers [?] of the goddess, under the pains and penalties which have been in the former settlement secured. Of the silver images of . . . . two . . . so that they shall be placed with the effigies of the goddess in number thirty-one, and in money other fifteen hundred denarii, so that they shall be taken with the eleven thousand five hundred denarii already dedicated to the Temple, on condition that a silver statue of Athena, the patroness of general literature, of the weight, together with the silver-

κίου, γραμμάτων ὀκτώ, ἡ καθιερωμένη τῇ τε Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ
τοῖς αἰεὶ ἐσομένοις Ἐφεσίων παισὶ, τίθηται κατὰ πᾶσαν νό-
μιμον ἐκκλησίαν ἐπάνω τῆς σελίδος οὗ οἱ παῖδες καθέζονται.

Column 7.

(*A lacuna of probably* 20 *lines.*)

ἑξήκοντα . . . . . .
ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος . . . . . γε
νομένων κατὰ ἀν . . . . . .

Ἐὰν δέ τινες τῶν λαχόντων . . . . . .
τὰς θυσίας μὴ θύωσιν ἢ μὴ εἰσφέρωσιν
ἱερῷ ὡς διατέτακται, ἀποδότωσαν εἰς τὸ
κόσμημα τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος δη . . . . . .

Ὁμοίως δώσει ἀπὸ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου τόκου
καὶ τοῖς θεσμωδοῖς εἰς διανομὴν δη-ζ.
ὥστε λαμβάνειν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀρτέ
μιδος τῇ γενεσίῳ τῆς θεοῦ ἀνὰ ἀσσάρια θ′

plating of the base of it, of seven pounds, and half an ounce, and eight grammes, which (statue) has been dedicated to Artemis and to the youth of the Ephesian citizens which shall at any time succeed, and which shall be set at every regular assembly over the row of seats where the boys sit.

Column 7.

A lacuna of probably 20 lines.

(Too fragmentary for translation.)

And if any of those who have been appointed shall fail to offer the sacrifices, or to contribute to the Temple as has been appointed, let them pay towards the adorning of Artemis . . . . . denarii.

Likewise he (?) shall give from the aforesaid interest to the priests also who deliver the oracles, for distribution among them, seven denarii, so that they shall receive them in the Temple of Artemis on the birthday of the goddess at the rate of nine asses apiece.

Ὁμοίως δώσει ἀπὸ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου τόκου
καὶ τοῖς ἀκροβάταις τῆς θεοῦ εἰς διανομὴν
δη. ιε. ὥστε λαμβάνειν αὐτοὺς τῇ γενεσίῳ
τῆς θεοῦ ἀνὰ ἀσσάρια δεκάτρια ἥμισυ

Πρὸς δὲ τὸ μένειν τὰ ἀπεικονίσματα πάντα
καθαρὰ ἐξέστω ὁσάκις ἂν ἐνδέχηται
ἐκμάσσεσθαι μετ' ἀργυρωματικῇ ὑπὸ τοῦ
αἰεὶ ἐσομένου ἐπὶ τῶν παραθηκῶν παρόν-
των δύο νεοποιῶν καὶ σκηπτούχου
ἑτέρᾳ δὲ ὕλῃ μηδεμιᾷ ἐκμάσσεσθαι καὶ
τὰ λοιπὰ δη-ὀκτὼ δοθήσεται καθ' ἕκαστον
ἐνιαυτὸν τῷ ἐπὶ τῶν παραθηκῶν εἰς τὴν
ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν ἀπεικονισμάτων καὶ τὸν
ἀγορασμὸν τῆς ἀργυρωματικῆς γῆς

Ὑπέσχετο δὲ Σαλουτάριος δώσειν καὶ δη-
ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα πέντε—ὥστε ἄρξεσθαι
τὴν φιλοτειμίαν αὐτοῦ τῷ ἐνεστῶτι ἔτει
τῇ γενεσίῳ τῆς θεοῦ ἡμέρᾳ.

Likewise he shall give from the aforesaid interest to the acrobat-performers (?) of the goddess, for distribution among them, fifteen denarii, so that they shall receive them on the birthday of the goddess at the rate of thirteen asses and a half apiece.

And that all the effigies may remain clean, let it be lawful, whenever required, to have them wiped with plate-powder (?) by the person who shall at any time be custodian of the sacred deposits, in the presence of two curators of the Temple and a staff-bearer (verger ?), but not to have them wiped with any other material; and the remaining eight denarii shall be given annually to the custodian of the sacred deposits for the care of the effigies and the purchase of the earth used for plate-powder.

Salutarius, moreover, engaged to give one hundred and thirty-five denarii, so that his public-spirited liberality shall commence in the present year with the birthday of the goddess.

Τὰς δὲ προγεγραμμένας εἰκόνας καὶ τὰς προκαθιερωμένας ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης διατάξει καὶ τὰ ἀπεικονίσματα πάντα τῆς θεοῦ φερέτωσαν ἐκ τοῦ προνάου κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐκκλησίαν εἰς τὸ θέατρον καὶ τοὺς γυμνικοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ εἴτινες ἕτεραι ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου ὁρισθήσονται ἡμέραι ἐκ τῶν νεοποιῶν δύο καὶ οἱ ἱερονεῖκαι καὶ σκηπτοῦχος καὶ φύλακοι, καὶ πάλιν ἀποφερέτωσαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ κατατιθέσθωσαν συνπαραλαμβανόντων καὶ τῶν ἐφήβων ἀπὸ τῆς Μαγνητικῆς πύλης καὶ μετὰ τὰς ἐκκλησίας συνπροπεμπόντων ἕως τῆς Κορησσικῆς πύλης, καθὼς καὶ ἐν τοῖς προγεγονόσι ψηφίσμασι ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὥρισαν.

And let the aforesaid statues, and those which were before consecrated (named) in the provision preceding this, and all the effigies of the goddess, be brought out from the Pronaos (of the Temple), on each day of public assembly, into the theatre and the gymnastic performances, and on any other days that shall be determined by the Council and the People in assembly, by two curators of the Temple, and the conquerors in the games, and a staff-bearer (verger), and guards; and let them be taken back into the Temple and deposited there, the young men also joining in taking them from the Magnesian Gate, and after the assemblies accompanying them as far as the Coressian Gate; according as, in the foregoing decrees, the Council and the People in assembly determined.

END OF THE INSCRIPTION.

No. 2.

DIANAE EPHESIAE
ET PHYLE CARENAEON,

C. Vibius, C. f. Vofentina Salutaris promagister portuum provinciae Siciliae, item promagister frumenti mancipalis, praefectus cohortis Asturum et Gallaecorum, tribunus militum legionis XXII. primigeniae piae fidelis, subprocurator provinciae, Mauretaniae Tingitanae, item provinciae Belgicae, ... argenteam, item imagines argenteas duas, unam Dianae et alteram phyles, sua pecunia fecit, ita ut omni cum apparatu supra bases ponerentur, ob quam Deae et phyles dedicationem sex phylais consecravit H. S. XXXIIICCCXXXIIIS.

Ἀρτέμιδι Ἐφεσίᾳ καὶ τῇ φυλῇ τῶν Καρηναίων Γ. Οὐείβιος Γ. υἱὸς Οὐωφεντείνᾳ

Σαλουτάριος . . . . . τῆς ἐπαρχείας Σικελίας.

No. 2.

In honour of Diana of Ephesus
and of the Carenaean Tribe.

Gaius Vibius Salutaris, son of Gaius, of the Vofentine Tribe, deputy master of the harbours of the province of Sicily, also deputy overseer of the public corn[1] (?), praefect of the cohort of the Astures and the Gallaeci, military tribune of the 22nd Legion entitled Primigenia Pia Fidelis, subprocurator of the province of Mauretania Tingitana, also of the province of Belgica, has erected at his own cost a silver . . . . . ., also two silver images, one of Diana, the other of the aforesaid Tribe, providing for their being set upon their pedestals with all their furniture : for which offering in honour of the Goddess and the Tribe he has set apart and made over to the six Tribes (of Ephesus) thirty-three thousand three hundred thirty-three sesterces and a half.

[1] Manceps has been shown by Godefroi to mean a public baker.

No. 3.

Ἡ πρώτη καὶ μεγίστη μη-
τρόπολις τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ δὶς
νεώκορος τῶν Σεβαστῶν
τὸν πέτασον τοῦ θεάτρου
καὶ τὸν προσκήνιον καὶ τὸ πόδωμα
καὶ τοὺς σειφάρους καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν
ξυλικὴν παρασκευὴν τῶν θεατρι-
κῶν καὶ τὰς λειπούσας θύρας καὶ τὰ
ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ λευκολίθα, ἃ μὲν ἐπεσκεύ-
ασεν, τὰ δὲ καὶ κατεσκεύασεν, ἐκ τῶν ἰδί-
ων, γραμματεύοντος Ποπλίου Οὐηδίου
Ἀντωνείνου Ἀσιάρχου, ἐργεπιστατούν-
των
Ποπλίου Ἀτιλίου Μηνοδότου Βερενικιανοῦ
καὶ Γαίου Ἀττάλου τοῦ Ἀττάλου φιλοσεβάστων

No. 3.

The first and greatest metropolis of Asia and twice temple-guardian of the Augusti gave the awning of the theatre, together with the proscenium, and the floor, and the curtains, and all other wooden furniture of the stage, and the remaining doors, and the white marble-work in the theatre, partly restored, partly new, at its own expense. Publius Vedius Antoninus the Asiarch was Recorder, P. Atilius Menodotus Berenicianus and Gaius Attalus son of Attalus, friends of the Emperors, being superintendents of the works.

No. 4.

. . . . . .

ἱεροκηρυκεύοντος[1]

Σατορνείνου, πρεσβυτερων (?)

. . . . . .

Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ.

Αὐρ. Ἀγαθόπους εὐχαριστῶ
τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῇ κυρίᾳ Σωτεί-
ρᾳ καὶ τῇ τύχῃ τῆς γερου-
σίας ὅτι τὴν πίστιν ἐτή-
ρησα τῇ γερουσίᾳ σὺν καὶ
τοῖς ἐμοῖς πᾶσιν,
ὁ αὐτὸς γραμματεὺς
καὶ γυμνασίαρχος
εὐτυχῶς.

Line 1: On the office of ἱεροκῆρυξ see C. F. Hermann-Stark, *Gottesd. Alt.* 36. 9; 55. 23; and at Ephesus in particular, Guhl, *Ephesiaca*, 107. Line 2: Officers of finance, called πρεσβεύτεροι, occur in the great inscription, p. 24, l. 72. Line 6: It is not quite clear what deities are intended. Artemis was sometimes called

No. 4.

'. . . . . Saturninus being sacred herald . . . . . [being] . . . . . of the elders (?) . . . . .'

'With Good Fortune. I, Aurelius Agathopus, render thanksgiving to the god and to the Lady Saviour [goddess] and to the Fortune of the senate because I have kept my faith to the senate together with all my family, I being at once recorder and gymnasiarch, with success.'

Σώτειρα (Guhl, 125); but not apparently under circumstances that suggest the Ephesian goddess. Some deity at Ephesus is twice called ἡ Σώτειρα in one of the inscriptions published by C. Curtius (*Hermes*, iv. 198 f.). At Athens the last day of the year was celebrated by sacrifices to Zeus Soter and Athene Soteira (Stark in *Gottesd. Alt.* 61. 21); and the designation Soteira, though applied to various goddesses, seems to have specially belonged to Athene (Hesych. s.v.: cf. Aristoph. *Ran.* 378; Lobeck, *Agl.* 980). The Athenian custom may have migrated to Ephesus with Androclus, and this conjecture is confirmed by the subject of the present inscription. Line 11: On the office of recorder (γραμματεύς), mentioned Acts xix. 35, see Guhl, 73, and especially an inscription in *C. I. G.* 2953 b. Line 12: On the office of gymnasiarch see Krause, *Gymn. u. Agon. d. Hell.* 181–201, and Guhl, 74, who quotes an inscription (*C. I. G.* 2986. 3) in which the same person appears as both *prytanis* and gymnasiarch.

The inscription apparently records a thanksgiving by the recorder of the city for the successful completion of his audit, or some similar act of rendering account of documents (or other public property) in his keeping at the expiration of his year of office. Only a small fragment of the dating remains.

No. 5.

ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησεν Γάϊον[1] Ἰούλιον, βασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱὸν, Ἀγρίππαν, ταμίαν καὶ ἀντιστράτηγον τῆς Ἀσίας, διά τε τὴν ἄλλην ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν εἰς τὴν πόλιν εὔνοιαν.

[1] This C. Julius Agrippa, son of King Alexander, is perhaps not mentioned elsewhere. Alexander, son of Aristobulus, murdered by Scipio at the instigation of Pompey, B.C. 49, is doubtless the king intended. He struck, as is now believed, money with the title ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔ. ΒΑCΙΛΕΩΝ (Madden's *Jewish Coinage*, p. 75). It was quite natural that his son should be called Caius Julius, as Julius Caesar was his father's friend (Joseph. *Ant.* xiv. 7). Agrippa is a name occurring more than once among the Jewish princes, the person after whom they were called

No. 6.

. . . . . .

. . καὶ δὶς νεωκόρος τῶν Σε-
βαστῶν κατὰ τὰ δόγματα τῆς
συνκλήτου καὶ νεωκόρος
Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ φιλοσέβας-
τος Ἐφεσίων πόλις τὸν πέτα-
σον τοῦ θεάτρου διαφορηθέν-
τα ὅλον ἐπεσκεύασεν καὶ ἀπήρ-

No. 5.

The people honoured Caius Julius, son of King Alexander, (surnamed) Agrippa, quaestor and propraetor of Asia, both on account of his other virtues and for his goodwill to the city.

being M. Vipsanius Agrippa, who wrote to the Archons of Ephesus (temp. Augusti) in favour of the Jews, and was a friend of Herod the Great (Joseph, *Ant.* xvi. 6).

This inscription cannot well be later than 21 B.C., when Augustus surrendered the province of Asia to the Senate, and then placed it under an ἀνθύπατος instead of an ἀντιστράτηγος (Merivale, *Romans under the Empire*, c. xxxiv. ; Conybeare and Howson's *Life of St. Paul*, c. viii.)

No. 6.

The city of the Ephesians . . . . . .

. . . . and twice temple-warden of the Augusti, according to the decrees of the Senate, and temple-warden of Artemis, and friend of Augustus, entirely repaired and made good the awning of the theatre after it had been torn to pieces, both from other sources and [from the liberality of]

Tineius Sacerdos, Proconsul. Farewell.

τισεν ἔκ τε ἄλλων πόρων καὶ ὃν . .

. . . . . ἀνθύπατος

Τινέϊος Σακέρδως.

εὐτυχείτε.

No. 7

Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα

Τίτον Αἴλιον Ἀδριανὸν

Ἀντωνεῖνον Σεβαστὸν

Εὐσεβῆ

τῆς πρώτης καὶ μεγίστης

μητροπόλεως τῆς Ἀσίας

καὶ δὶς νεωκόρου τῶν Σεβασ-

τῶν Ἐφεσίων ἡ πόλις καὶ ἡ βουλὴ

καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπὶ Πεδ. Πρεισκείνου

ἀνθυπάτου, ψήφισμα προβου-

λευθέντος Πο. Γεμελλίνου Φλα-

βιανοῦ γραμματέως τοῦ δήμου

φυλῆς Ἀδριανῆς.

The inscription is interesting (among other reasons) because it applies the word νεωκόρος to Ephesus in its capacity of temple-warden both to Artemis and to the Emperors, as do also certain coins of Caracalla, reading ΕΦΕCIΩN TPIC NEOKOPΩN KAI TIIC APTEMIΔOC. (*Rév. Numism.* 1859, p. 305, &c.)

Q. Tineius Sacerdos was consul A.D. 219. The petasus may probably designate the awnings above the heads of the spectators (see Lucret. iv. 75). If these were supported in the middle by a pole they would somewhat resemble a *petasus*.

Rost and Palm cite the *Corp. Insc.* ii. p. 802, for πέτασος as the 'roof' (Bach, ? awning) of the Odeum.

No. 7.

The city and senate and people of the Ephesians, the first and greatest metropolis of Asia and twice temple-warden of the Augusti, consecrate an image of the Emperor Titus Ælius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, in the time of Ped. Priscinus,[1] proconsul, Publius Gemellinus Flavianus, town-clerk of the people, of the Hadrianean tribe, having proposed the decree.

[1] Peducaeus Priscinus, whose name can scarcely be read, was consul 141 A.D.; and is mentioned in connection with Ephesus in an inscription, Böckh, n. 2966. With this inscription compare n. 2968.

No. 8.

φ . . . . . .

Λαοδικεὺς καὶ Ἐφέσιος νεικήσας μεγ-
άλα Ἔφεσηα ἱερὰ ἰσελαστικὰ ἀνδρῶν πυγμήν·
Διδύμεια ἐν Μειλήτῳ ἀγενείων πυγμήν·
Δεῖα Σεβαστὰ οἰκουμενικὰ ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ ἀγενείων πυγμήν·
κοινὰ Ἀσίας ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἀγενείων πυγμήν·
κοινὰ Ἀσίας ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ ἀγενείων πυγμήν·
ἐπινείκια ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἀγενείων πυγμήν·
Τραϊάνεια Δελφίνεια ἐν Περγάμῳ ἀνδρῶν πυγμήν·
Ἔφεσηα τὰ μεγάλα Ἐφεσηίδι[1] φιζ̄ ἀνδρῶν πυγμήν·
Δεῖα Σεβαστὰ οἰκουμενικὰ ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ ἀνδρῶν πυγμήν·
Εὐσέβεια ἐν Ποτιόλοις ἀνδρῶν πυγμήν·
Σεβαστὰ ἐν Νεαπόλει ἀνδρῶν πυγμήν·
τὴν ἐξ Ἄργους ἀσπίδα ἀνδρῶν πυγμήν·
Ἀρτεμείσια ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἀνδρῶν πυγμήν·
καὶ ταλαντιαίους καὶ θεματικοὺς ἀνδρῶν πυγμήν·
ἀγωνοθετοῦντος Τ.
Ἰουλίου Ῥηγείνου ἀρχι-
ερέως β ναῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐφ.

[1] Perhaps a mistake of repetition for πενταετηρίδι.

No. 8.

(A or B) a citizen of Laodicea and Ephesus, who was the victor in the following contests:

in the great sacred Ephesia with triumphal entry for boxing against men,

in the Didymea in Miletus for boxing against youths,

in the Augustan ecumenical Dia (games in honour of Zeus) in Laodicea for boxing against youths,

in the Commune Asiae held in Ephesus for boxing against youths,

in the Commune Asiae held in Laodicea for boxing against youths,

in the Epinicia in Ephesus for boxing against youths,

in the Trajanean Delphinia at Pergamus for boxing against men,

in the great Ephesia in the 517th Epheseid for boxing against men,

in the Augustan ecumenical Dia in Laodicea for boxing against men,

in the Eusebea at Puteoli for boxing against men,

in the Augustan at Neapolis (Naples) for boxing against men,

in the Shield from Argos for boxing against men,

in the Artemisia at Ephesus for boxing against men,

and for the contests in which a talent or other money-prize was given for boxing against men.

Titus Julius Rheginus being the director of the games, being also high-priest for the second time of the temples in Ephesus.

No. 9.

ἀγωνοθετοῦντος δι᾽ αἰῶνος
Τιβερίου Ἰουλίου Ῥηγείνου
ἀρχιερέως ναῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ.

No. 10.

Φλ Τιτιανὸς ἔπαρχος Αἰγύπτου

No. 11.

Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ῥουφεῖνος
Ἀλεξανδρεὺς καὶ Ἐφέσιος καὶ
Ῥόδιος βουλει.[1]

[1] *Sic* on stone.

No. 12.

. . . . . Νερουᾳ Τραϊανῷ Καίσαρι Σεβαστῷ Γερμανικῷ,
τὸ δ΄. ἀγομένων ἀγώνων Σεβαστῶν Βαλβιλλήων· ἀγωνοθετοῦντος
Φλαουίου Ἀνδρᾶ, γραμματεύοντος τῆς συνόδου Κόρακος. . . . . .

The inscription is of the reign of Trajan, but probably nothing more definite can be said. The Barbillean games in Ephesus are mentioned in an inscription of Aphrodisias in Caria, not earlier than Hadrian (Böckh, 2810), but not in any inscription of Ephesus contained in Böckh, nor on any coin of the place. Barbillus was an astronomer, in honour of whom these games were instituted by Vespasian. Dion. Cass. lxvi. 9. The stone has ‘ ΒΑΛΒΙΛΛΗΩΝ.’

(*Notes to Inscription No.* 8.)

This stone like many others interchanges ι and ει (in the words εἰσελαστικά, Μειλήτῳ, ἐπινείκια), and has η for ει (in Ἐφέσηα). For the double accusative with νεικήσας see Böckh, n. 2999.

This would seem either to be an inscription on the base of a statue of the victorious athlete, or a tablet commemorating his name and achievements. An Ephesian inscription commemorates one who increased the prizes (θέματα) of the competitors and raised statues to the victors (Böckh, n. 2954, B). This inscription is quite a *lapis classicus* for the names of the contests in which the victor engaged. His name has perished, though we still know the cities of which he was a joint-citizen. The greater part of these contests are named elsewhere: see Böckh, n. 2810 (Aphrodisias), for τὴν ἐξ Ἄργους ἀσπίδα, n. 1720 (Delphi), for the Εὐσέβεια ἐν Ποτιόλοις, and those ἐν Νεαπόλει, and the Athenian inscriptions relating to the victories in the gymnastic contests, particularly nos. 232, 234, 247, in which last the ἀγῶνες ταλαντιαῖοι and θεματικοὶ are (as here) named together. They are in contrast with the στεφανῖται ἀγῶνες, in which the prize was a wreath. Several of them are also mentioned on coins, as the Κοινὰ Ἀσίας (in more places than one), the Σεβαστὰ, the Διδύμεια, the Ἐφέσια, the Ἐπινίκια, the Iselastica (on various Latin coins of Syria), and the Οἰκουμενικά, for which see Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* vol. iv. c. xxi.

The Εὐσέβεια at Puteoli were instituted by Antoninus Pius in honour of Hadrian: consequently this inscription must be at least as late as his reign.

Can the stone-cutter have inscribed Ἐφεσηίδι in error for πενταετηρίδι? See Inscr. No. 18.

For ἀγένειοι, in contrast with ἄνδρες and παῖδες in later Greek times, see Böckh on n. 232.

A high-priest of Asia of the temples in Ephesus is mentioned in Böckh, n. 2987, and many others.

No. 12.

To . . . . Nerva Trajanus Caesar Augustus Germanicus, the Augustan Balbillean games being celebrated for the fourth time; Flavius Andreas being the president of the games, and Corax [the son of . . . . . .] being the clerk of the assembly . . . . . .

No. 13.

Splendidissimae
civitatis Ephesiorum :
τῆς πρώτης καὶ μεγίστης
μητροπόλεως τῆς Ἀσίας
καὶ β̄ νεωκόρου τῶν Σεβαστῶν :
Aulum Iunium Publii filium Fabia
Pastorem, Lucium Caesennium
Sospitem Legatum Pro Praetore provinciae
Asiae, Praetorem designatum, Tribunum
plebis, Quaestorem Augusti, Tribunum
militum legionis XIII Geminae, Trium-
virum aere, argento, auro flando
feriundo Seviro Turmae equitum
Romanorum, rarissimo viro,
Sextus Iunius Philetus
et Marcus Antonius Carpus
honoris causa.

H C

No. 13.

Of the most illustrious city of the Ephesians: Of the first and greatest metropolis of Asia and twice Neocorus of the Augusti: Aulus Iunius Pastor of the Fabian tribe, the son of Publius, and Lucius Caesennius Sospes, Propraetorian Legate of the Province of Asia, Praetor designatus, Tribune of the Commons, Quaestor of Augustus, Military Tribune of the 13th Legion, named Gemina, Triumvir of the Mint, Commander (?) of one of the six troops of Roman knights, a most eminent man, have had this monument erected in their honour by Sextus Iunius Philetus and Marcus Antoninus Carpus.

[1] There is apparently something wanting at the beginning, to connect these genitives with the two men honoured, A. Iunius, Pastor of the Fabian tribe, and L. Caesennius Sospes. But then there is some strange hiatus in the sense between *feriundo* and *Seviro*, unless we suppose that the Greek scribe has had his eye caught by the preceding datives, and has written *Seviro* and *rarissimo viro*, instead of *Sevirum*, etc.; so that it is this same Sospes who is *sevir* of one of the six troops of Roman Knights, and an incomparable man as well as Master of the Mint, etc. etc.

No. 14.

Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος τῆς

. . . . . Ἐφεσίων πολέως

ἐτείμησεν . . . . . .

. . . . . νεικήσαντα

Ἔφεσηα τὰ μεγάλα στάδιον,

Αὐγούστεια ἐν Περγάμῳ στάδιων,

Ἴσθμια στάδιον,

Ὀλύμπια ἐν Ἀθήναις στάδιον,

τὴν ἐξ Ἄργους Ἀσπίδα στάδιον,

Νέμεια ἐν Ἄργει στάδιον,

Πανελλήνια ἐν Ἀθήναις στάδιον,

Ὀλύμπια ἐν Τράλλεσι στάδιον,

Ἴσθμια στάδιον,

Διδύμεια ἐν Μειλήτῳ στάδιον,

Κοινὸν Ἀσίας ἐν Κυζίκῳ στάδιον,

This inscription was evidently set up, probably by the civic authorities, in honour of an Ephesian athlete, who had been a winner at various games, chiefly in footraces. The form of the lost beginning is easily restored by analogy. Similar inscriptions are not uncommon, as *C. I. G.* 234, 1068, 1515, 2810, 3208; the various agonistic inscriptions of Attica, Peloponnesus, and Boeotia are collected together in *C. I. G.* 232–250, 1416–1432, 1579–1591. On the records of Ephesian

No. 14.

'[The Council and the People of the . . . . . city of the Ephesians honoured . . . . . for having won]

in the great Ephesian games a race,

in the Augustan games at Pergamus a race,

in the Isthmian games a race,

in the Olympian games at Athens a race,

in [the games of] the Shield of Argos a race,

in the Nemean games at Argos a race,

in the Panhellenian games at Athens a race,

in the Olympian games at Tralles a race,

in the Isthmian games a race,

in the Didymean games at Miletus a race,

in [the games of] the Community of Asia at Cyzicus a race,

athletes, in inscriptions and elsewhere, see Krause, *Gymnastik u. Agonik d. Hellenen*, 772.

Line 5: By the 'Great Ephesian' games [named above No. 8, lines 2, 10] are doubtless meant the Olympian games at Ephesus, also called Ἀδριάνεια (Ἀδριανὰ Ὀλύμπια, *C. I. G.* 2810), in one inscription (2987 b) τὰ Μεγάλα Ἀδριάνεια, and in another (2999) τὰ Μεγάλα Ὀλύμπια: see Krause, *Gymn.* 138, 172; *Olympia*, 206 f.;

Ἀσκλήπεια ἐν Περγάμῳ στάδιον,

Ὀλύμπια ἐν Ταρσῷ στάδιον,

Ἀνάζαρβον ἀνδρῶν πένταθλον·

ἀγωνοθετοῦντος δι' αἰ-

ὼνος Τιβ. Ἰουλ. Ῥηγείνου,

ἀρχιερέως β̄. ναῶν τῶν

ἐν Ἐφέσῳ,

ὑπὸ ἀλειποτην(-είπτην) Γ. Κοσίνιον

cf. 323 f. ; Guhl, *Ephesiaca*, 124. The double accusative in this and the following lines is in conformity with usage. Line 6 : Augustan games at intervals of five years were largely celebrated in the provinces (Suet. *Oct.* 59) ; but Pergamus happens to be one of the few localities already known (Krause in Pauly, *R. E.* s. v. *Augustales*). The earliest known temple of Augustan worship in Asia was at Pergamus (Eckhel, *D. N. V.* vi. 100 f., cited by M. Waddington, *Voy. Arch.* iii. 245). Line 7 : probably the Isthmian games proper are meant : local Isthmian games seem to have been very rare, two localities only in Asia Minor being known, Ancyra in Galatia and Nicæa in Bithynia (Krause, *Pythien Nemeen u. Isthmien*, 207 f.). Line 8 : for Olympian games at Athens, early and late, see Krause, *Olymp.* 210 ff. ; *Gymn.* 192 f., 764. Line 9 : on the games of the Shield of Argos in honour of Hera, referred to in several inscriptions, see Boeckh on Pind. *Ol.* vii. 77 ; C. F. Hermann-Stark, *Gottesd. Alt.* 52, 2. Line 10 : in late times the Nemean games proper were celebrated at Argos : see Boeckh on *C. I. G.* 1124 (cf. 234, 1068), Krause, *Pyth.* 110 f. ; *Gymn.* 701. Line 11 : Panhellenian games were not celebrated at Athens till the time of Hadrian (K. O. Müller, *Aeginetica*, 157 f., cited by Boeckh l. c. ; see Krause, *Gymn.* 764). Line 12 : Tralles is known to have had Olympian games (Krause, *Olymp.* 232 ff. ; *Gymn.* 776). Line 13 : on line 4 ; it seems more likely that the Isthmian games proper are intended in both lines than that secondary Isthmian games were celebrated at both Pergamus and Tralles. Line 14 : the Didymean games were celebrated at the oracle of the Branchidae at Didyma near Miletus : see

in the Asclepian games at Pergamus a race,

in the Olympian games at Tarsus a race,

in [the games of] Anazarbus a *pentathlon* of adults :

Tiberius Julius Rheginus, for the second time High Priest of the Temples at Ephesus, being perpetual President of Games : he [having been trained] under Caius Cosinius as Anointer.'

C. I. G. 2881, 72, –3, –4, –8 ; Krause, *Gymn.* 13, 773. Line 15 : Cyzicus is known to have possessed a temple of the Community of Asia (*C. I. G.* 3662, cited by M. Waddington, l. c.); the games are mentioned in inscriptions (*C. I. G.* 3674 ff.); various local games of the Community of Asia are referred to here and there, but they have not yet been sufficiently investigated. Line 16 : on the worship of Asclepius at Pergamus see the authorities cited by C. F. Hermann-Stark, 41.18 : this is apparently the only record of the games ; but Asclepian games were celebrated at another more famous Asiatic sanctuary of Asclepius, that of Epidaurus (Krause, *Gymn.* 702, 736). Lines 17, 18: for Olympian games at Tarsus and Anazarbus, see Krause, *Olymp.* 206 f., 227 f. ; *Gymn.* 706, 796. Line 18 : on the *pentathlon*, see Krause, *Gymn.* 476–497 ; a winner of many footraces, such as the subject of this inscription, would naturally possess the supple activity which was more necessary than sheer strength for success in the group of five athletic contests (*ib.* 548 f.). Line 19 : the designation ἀγωνοθέτης for presidents or umpires of games is common in Greek literature; but little seems to be known about the tenure of the office. The *agonothetes* of the Olympian or Hadrianian games is probably here intended : another Ephesian is called ἀρχιερέα Ἀσίας ναῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ καὶ ἀγωνοθέτην τῶν μεγάλων Ἀδριανείων (*C. I. G.* 2987 b), and another τοῦ ἀγωνοθέτου τῶν τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἀγώνων καὶ γραμματέως τοῦ ἔθνους (2961). Line 20 : Rheginus appears as an Asiatic name in inscriptions and on a coin. Line 21 : on the high priesthood of the Augustan temples of Asia see on inscription No. 4, line 23. Line 19 evidently refers to the original training, which redounded to the credit of the public anointer; this functionary came at last 'almost to hold the place of a dietetic physician' (Krause, *Gymn.* 240 ; also 230–243 ; cf. Wyttenbach on Plut. *Mor.* 133 B). A Caianus Cosinnius is mentioned in an Ephesian inscription (*C. I. G.* 2983), and Boeckh remarks that the name Cusinnius occurs on Ephesian coins.

No. 15.

τῆς πρώτης καὶ
μεγίστης
μητροπόλεως
τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ β̄. νεωκόρου
τῶν σεβαστῶν Ἐφεσίων πόλεως
ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος
ἐτίμησαν
Γ. Ἰούλιον Λοῦπον,
Τ. Οὐείβιον Οὐᾶρον Λάμ-
βιλλον ταμίαν καὶ ἀντιστρά-
τηγον τριῶν ἀνθυπάτων,
τὴν τιμὴν ἀναστησάντων
Μ. Ἀντωνίου
Ἐπιτυγχάνου
σὺν Κάρπῳ καὶ Ἐπιτυγχανω
τοῖς τέκνοις
τὸν ἑαυτῶν εὐεργετήν.

No. 15.

The Council and the People of the city of the Ephesians, the chief and greatest metropolis of Asia, and twice Temple-Warden of the Augusti,

(thus) honoured Gaius Julius Lupus, Titus Vibius Varus Lambillus, steward and propraetor to three proconsuls:

the (statue) being erected by Marcus Antonius Epityncha nus together with his children Carpus and Epityncha nus in honour of their benefactor.

No. 16.

. . . . . S. TI. CLAV . . . . . .

. . . CIVITATIS. EPH . . . . . .

. . RAVIT. V. K . . . . . .

. . ILVNTVR. EA. FIDE. ET. C . .

. . QVALIS. ET. PERPETVA. I . .

. . . . VIGENTIS. SIM . . . . . .

. . . . . NIFIC . . . . . .

No. 17.

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱός,
θεοῦ Νερούα υἱωνός, Τραϊανὸς Ἀδριανὸς Σεβαστός,
ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ δ',
ὕπατος τὸ γ', Ἐφεσίων τῇ γερουσίᾳ χαίρειν.
Μέττιος Μόδεστος ὁ κράτιστος εὖ ἐποίησεν τὰ δίκ-
αια κατανείμας ἐν τῇ κρίσει. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλοὺς ἐδηλώσατε
σφετερίζεσθαι χρήματα ὑμέτερα οὐσίας τῶν δεδανεισμέ-
νων κατέχοντας, οὐ φάσκοντας δὲ κληρονομεῖν, τοὺς δὲ
καὶ αὐτοὺς χρεώστας ὄντας, πέπομφα ὑμῶν τὸ ἀντίγραφον
τοῦ ψηφίσματος Κορνηλίῳ Πρείσκῳ τῷ κρατίστῳ
ἀνθυπάτῳ ἵνα εἴ τι τοιοῦτον εἴη, ἐπιλέξηταί τινα,
ὃς κρινεῖ τε τἀμφισβητούμενα καὶ εἰσπράξει πάντα,
ὅσα ἂν ὀφείληται τῇ γερουσίᾳ. Ὁ πρεσβεύων ἦν
Κασκέλλιος Ἀττικὸς ᾧ τὸ ἐφόδιον δοθήτω εἴγε μὴ
προῖκα ὑπέσχετο πρεσβεύσειν. Εὐτυχεῖτε. Πρὸ ε Κ. Ὀκτωβρίων.
Γραμματεύοντος Ποπλίου Ῥουτειλίου Βάσσου.

No. 17.

The Emperor Caesar, son of the deified Trajan, conqueror of Parthia and grandson of the deified Nerva, Trajanus Adrianus Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribune of the people for the fourth time, Consul for the third, to the Senate of the Ephesians, greeting:

The most worthy man Mettius Modestus did well in apportioning the proper shares in his judgment. And whereas ye have shewn that many persons are appropriating your moneys by retaining the property of some who have borrowed, not claiming to be the inheritors, and others who are themselves in the position of debtors, I have sent your copy of the decree to the right excellent Cornelius Priscus, Proconsul, in order that, if anything of the kind should exist, he may select some person who shall decide on the matters in dispute, and shall enforce payment of all moneys, whatever may be due to the Senate. The Commissioner appointed was Cascellius Atticus, to whom the expenses of the journey must be paid, unless indeed he undertook to be Commissioner *gratis*. Farewell. On the fifth before the Calends of October (Sept. 27), in the year when Publius Rutilius Bassus was clerk of the senate.

No. 18.

τοῦ ὑμνῳδοῦ ἱεροκήρυξ, γραμ-
ματεὺς Ἀδριανείων, ὑμνῳδὸς νεμητὴς
βουλῆς γερουσίας χρυσοφόρων
ἠγωνίσατο ἀγῶνας τρεῖς, ἐστέφθη δύω,
ἀγωνοθετοῦντος δι' αἰῶνος Τιβ. Ἰουλ.
Ῥηγείνου Ἀσίαρχου β'. ναῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ
τῆς φιζ. Πενταετηρίδος.

No. 19.

. . . . γραμματευόντων τοῦ ἱερωτάτου συνεδρίου τοῦ μισθωτηρίου, Μ. Αὐρ. Διονυσικλέους Κορβούλωνος καὶ Αὐρ. Διονυσίου Δίστου Θέωνος συνεπιμεληταμένων τῆς δειπνοφοριακῆς πομπῆς. Γ Ἰουλίου Ἱππάρχου (?)[1] καὶ Αὐρ. Ἀλκινόου καὶ Ἀστατίου Εὐτύχους Νουνεχίου καὶ Τιβ. Κλ. . . . . .

The stone has ΙΠΠΕΑΧΡΥ.

No. 18.

The herald attending on the sacrifices of the Composer to the Theatre, clerk of the Adrianea, himself a composer, comptroller to the Senate, the Council of Elders, and the gold bearers,[1] engaged in three contests, and was crowned victor in two; Tiberius Julius Rheginus for the second time Asiarch of the temples in Ephesus in the 517th lustrum, being life-President of the games.

[1] Wearers of golden ornaments or gold-embroidered robes on high occasions in the *πρωεδρία*.

No. 19.

Marcus Aurelius Dionysicles [son of ?] Corbulo, and Aurelius Dionysius Distus, son of Theo, being secretaries of the most sacred assembly of the Misthoterium; Caius Julius Hipparchus, and Aurelius Alcinöus, and Astatius Eutyches, son of Nunechius, and Tiberius Claudius . . . . . having joint care of the procession of Deipnophori.[1]

[1] Like the Daphnephoria, solemn convoys of meat offerings to the temples.

No. 20.

. . . κατὰ τὸ ἑξῆς Ῥόδον

Ἄλεια παίδων ἀνδρῶν

ἐν Ἐφέσῳ παίδων Ὀλύμπια

ἐν Ἐφέσῳ παίδων Βαλβίλληα

Ἀθήνας παίδων Πανελλήνια

ἐν Τράλλεσιν παίδων ἀνδρῶν

Ὀλύμπια, Ῥώμην Καπιτώλια

ἀγενείων, Νεάπολιν Σεβαστὰ

ἀγενείων, ἐν Νεικοπόλει ἀγενείων

Ἄκτια, ἐν Ἄργει ἀγενείων Νέμεια,

ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἀγενείων Ἀρτεμείσια,

ἐν Ἱεραπόλει ἀγενείων Ἀπολλώνεια.

ἐποίησα δὲ καὶ Ὀλύμπια τὰ ἐν Πείσῃ ἱερὰν[1]

ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ ἀνδρῶν Δεῖα, ἐν Σάρδεσιν

ἀνδρῶν χρυσάνθινα, Ζμύρναν

κατὰ τὸ ἑξῆς Ὀλύμπια, τῆς συνόδου

Ἀδριανὰ Ὀλύμπια ἀνδρῶν πυγμὴν,

τὸ δεύτερον Ἀναβων[2] ἐν Πείσῃ

ἐτειμήθην ἀνδρίαντι καὶ βουλῇ.

[1] ἱερὰν is on the stone, but would seem to be an error for ἱερά.

[2] Error, it would seem, for ἀνδρῶν.

No. 20.

. . . . . in the regular order at Rhodes

in the Alean games with boys and men ;

at Ephesus, the Olympian with boys ;

at Ephesus, the Balbillean with boys ;

at Athens, the Panhellenic with boys ;

at Tralles, the Olympian with boys and men ;

at Rome, the Capitoline games with striplings ;

at Neapolis, the Augustan with striplings ;

at Nicopolis, the Actian with striplings ;

at Argos, the Nemean with striplings ;

at Ephesus, the Artemisia with striplings ;

at Hierapolis, the Apollonia with striplings ;

I performed also in the Olympian sacred contests at Pisa ;

at Laodicea, the games in honour of Zeus with men ;

at Sardis, the Chrysanthine with men ;

at Smyrna, in the regular order at the Olympia of the [athletic] guild, and the Hadrianean Olympia with men in boxing.

for the second time with men(?). At Pisa ;

I was honoured with a statue, and a seat in the Council.

No. 21.

VENDO . . . . . CON . . . . . .
PLACET. EX. CONSTITVTIONE. VEDI. POLLIONIS. CON . . . . .
INVICEM. DANDI. AVT. ACCIPIENDI. ESSE. NON. PLACET
ET. INPENSA. SVPERVACVA. REM. PVBLICAM. ONERANT . .
ITEM. SERVOS. PVBLICOS. QVI. DICVNTVR. INFANTES. EXIG . .
IPSORVM. ALANTVR. VICARIS. SVIS. PLACET. IP . .
DIANAE. INPORTIONE. OPSONI. DICVNTVR. ESSE. DIV . .
. . . . . TVM. VEDI. POLLIONIS. CONSTITVTIONE. CON . .
. . . . . IAPI . . . . . .

. . . . . AVT . . . . . .
. . . . . ONTIA. ET. VETVS.
. . . . . OPIBVS. NEC. SVF.

. . . . . I. EXPEDIRE. QVOTIENS.
. . . . . VOCANT. AVT. AVCTI
. . . . . NON. AGVNT. DILEC
. . . . . NT. QVANTVM
. . . . . M. COMPENDIVM.
. . . . . S. FAC

Letters dotted under are doubtful.

The relative positions of these ten fragments is uncertain.

No. 22.

. . . . . πρυτανεύσασαν,
ἣ καὶ διεδέξατο τὴν πρυτανεί-
αν παρὰ τοῦ ἑαυτῆς υἱοῦ,
Μ. Κοιλίου Σεκούνδου Δομιανοῦ
τὴν ἀνάστασιν ποιησαμένου,
Κο . Δολλίου Κο . ὑοῦ, Διοσκόρου
τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς πρωτο-
κούρητος καὶ γραμματέως
τῆς βουλῆς.

No. 22.

. . . . . having held the office of President, who also received in succession the presidency from her own son, Marcus Coelius Secundus Domianus having caused the restoration to be made, Quintus Lollius Dioscurus, son of Quintus, her father, being chief of the Curetes and secretary to the Council.

No. 23.

. . . . . .

. . . . Μενάνδρου (?) Πασσάλα τὸ β̄ . . . . . .

. . . . . Μεταγειτνιῶνος ιβ̄ . . . . . .

. . . . Κορνούτου (?) Σωπάτρου Σιμωνος (?) . . .

γραμματεὺς (?) τοῦ δήμου ὁ καὶ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς

. . . . . ς καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῆς πόλεως

. . . . . υσιν . . . τὰς περὶ τῶν ὑδάτων

. . . . . περὶ αὐτῶν ἔνγραφα

. . . . . ψηφίσματα ὑπὸ τοῦ δ . ι

. . . . . κατὰ τὰς προϋπαρχούσας

. . . . . ἔνγραφα . . . . . .

. . . . . ἀπομερισμὸν τῶν

. . . . . στε . . . . . .

No. 24.

. . . . . .

ρειθ . . . . . .

ἐπικληθεὶς Γραῦς δολιχο-

δρόμος νεικήσας . . . .

τὴν περίοδον καὶ τρὶς

Ὀλύμπια τὰ ἐν Πείσῃ

κατὰ τὸ ἑξῆς καὶ τοὺς

ἑτέρους ἀγῶνας

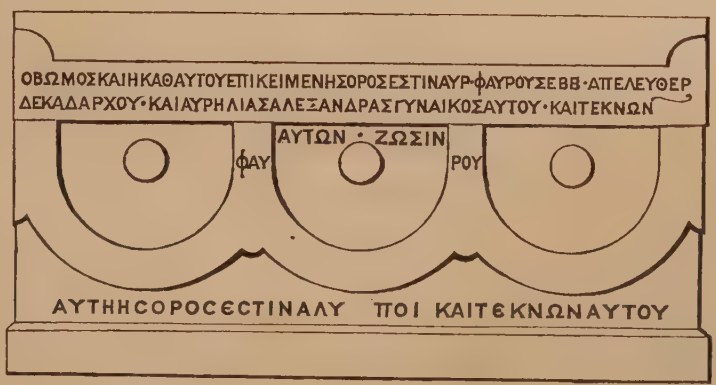
πάντας.

The text of these two inscriptions (Nos. 23 and 24) is uncertain.

INSCRIPTIONS

FROM

TOMBS, SARCOPHAGI, &c.



No. 1.

(*From a tomb near the Magnesian Gate.*)

ἑπτάπους ὁ τάφος παιδὸς
πατρός τε σὺν αὐτῷ·
Μαρκελλεῖνος ἔην ἀμφοτέρου
ὄνομα·
ἄλλοι μὲν στεφάνοισι χοαῖς
δακύροις τε καὶ ᾠδαῖς
τειμῶσιν τὸν σόν, Μαρκελλεῖνε,
τάφον,
Ἀντίχθων δ' ὁ πατὴρ ψυχὴν
ἰδίαν ἐπέδωκεν
κοινὸν ἔχειν ἐθέλων οὔνομα
καὶ θάνατον.[1]

Hanc aram si quis temptaverit transferre aut in terram excidere, aut alias amoveri curam fecerit, dabet[2] fisco poenam nominatim HS. X. MM. HS. Haec ara defenditur ab ieis qui sunt in Tabulario Ephesi.

Φιλουμένη ἀνδρὶ ἰδίῳ καὶ τέκνοις ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων.

No. 1.

Seven feet [long] is the tomb, of son and father together,
Marcellinus was the name of both.
Others with garlands, libations, with tears and hymns,
Pay honour to thy tomb, Marcellinus;
But thy father, Antichthon, offered his own life,
Wishing to share both name and death.

If anyone shall attempt to move away this altar or throw it down on the ground, or shall cause it to be removed elsewhere, he shall pay a penalty to the imperial treasury, viz. 12,000 sesterces. This altar is under the protection of those who are (mentioned ?) in the Record Office of Ephesus.

Philumena (erected this) to her own husband and children at her own cost.

[1] This epitaph is in elegiac verse with metrical peculiarities; see ἑπτάπους and Μαρκελλεῖνε.

[2] *Dabet* is perhaps an error for *dabit*; or we might read *debet*.

No. 2.

(Inscription on marble sarcophagus and pier under west side of road to Magnesia ad Maeandrum.)

DIS MANIBVS
T. VALERIO. T. F. SECVNDO. MILITIS. COH
OR TIS VII
PRAETORIAE. CENTVRIAE. SEVERI
T. VALERIVS. T. F. SECVNDVS. MILES.
COHORTIS. VII. PRAETORIAE. CEN
TVRIAE. SEVERI. DOMO. LIGVRIAE
MILITAVIT. ANNIS. VIII. STATI
ONARIVS. EPHESI. VIXIT
ANNOS. XXVI. MENSES VI.

No. 3.

(*From a cippus on the road to Magnesia ad Maeandrum.*)

M. HELVIO. L. F. FAL.
GEMINO. $\overline{III}$. VIR. A. A. A.
F. F. SALIO. PALATINO. TRIB.
MILIT. LEG. $\overline{XVI}$. GERMANIAE
Q. CAESARIS. PRAET. LEG. MACED.
PRO. PR. LEG. ASIAE. PRO. PRAET.
ADLECTO. INTER PATRICIOS. A.
DIVO CLAVDIO.

No. 4.

(*From a handsome marble monument on the road to Magnesia ad Maeandrum.*)

M. CALPVRNIO. M. F. COL. RVFO.
PRAEF. FRVMENTI
EX. S. C.
LEG. PRO. CYPRO PR. PR.
ET. PONTO ET. BITHYNIAE
ET. PRO. ASIAE.

No. 5.

A. Atinnius Noember Novilliae Pyrallidi
Coiugi suae carissimae fecit sibi familiaeque (?)

Κλαυδία Μάγνα Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Διογνήτου γυνὴ μάμμῃ ἰδίᾳ.
ὃς ἂν ταῦτα τὰ γράμματα ἐκκόψῃ, ἢ
ἀλλότρια ὀστᾶ βάλῃ, ὑπεύθυνος ἔστω τῇ γερουσίᾳ ✳ C̄N̄.
καὶ τοῖς ταμίαις τῆς πόλεως ✳ C̄N̄.
ἔζησεν ἔτη λ̄η̄, μῆνες β̄, ὥρας δ̄.

No. 6.

(*From a tomb on the road to Magnesia.*)

Εἴ τις τοῦτον τὸν βῶμον ἢ τὸ μνημεῖον ἢ ἀφανίσει ἢ
καταστρέψει ἢ γράμμα ἐκκόψει, δώσει εἰς τὸν φίσκον ✳ M. B. Φ.
Ὃς ἂν ἐπάνω[1] τοῦ ἡρῴου τούτου ἢ σορὸν ἐπιθῇ ἢ βῶμον, δώσει
εἰς Ἐφέσιον φίσκον τὸ προγεγραμμένον πρόστιμον.

[1] Or *ὑπεράνω*. The transcript has *απεριανω*.

No. 5.

Aulus Atinnius Noember to Novilla Pyrallis

His dearly beloved wife, had this made for himself and for his family.

Claudia Magna, wife of Tiberius Claudius Diognetus,

to her own mother.

whosoever this inscription shall erase, or throw in the bones of another, be he responsible to the Senate for the sum of 250 denarii [1] and to the treasurers of the city for the sum of 250 denarii.[1]

She lived 38 years, 2 months, 4 hours.

[1] The numbers meant, both here and in the next inscription, cannot be determined with certainty.

No. 6.

If anyone shall either destroy or throw down this altar or tomb, or shall erase a letter, he shall pay to the exchequer 2,500 denarii.[1]

Whosoever shall place either a sarcophagus or an altar upon this sanctuary shall pay the afore-mentioned penalty to the Ephesian exchequer.

No. 7.

(*From a sarcophagus near junction of roads between the Coressian Gate and the Temple.*)

αὕτη ἡ σορός ἐστιν καὶ ὁ ὑποκείμενος βωμὸς Μ. Πομ. Βόρωνος Ἰατροῦ φιλοσεβάστου. ζῇ.

καὶ Οὐλπίας Νείκης γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ. ζῇ

εἰς τὴν[1] ἑτέρῳ οὐδενὶ ἔξεσται βληθῆναι, ἐὰν δέ τις ἕτερον βάλῃ πτῶμα ἢ γράμμα ἐκκόψῃ ἢ πωλήσῃ, μὴ ἐνπλήσθοιτο μήτε βίου μήτε τέκνων μήτε σώματος, μήτε ὁ πωλήσας μήτε ὁ ἀγοράσας.

Τῆς σοροῦ κήδονται τὸ συνέδριον, οἱ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μουσείου ἰατροί,

οἷς καθιερωσάτην εἰς κλῆρον Μ. Δ. Κ. ✳ Χ.

[1] Perhaps the stone was intended to have εἰς τὴν σορόν.

No. 8.

ἐὰν δέ τις παρὰ τοὺς γεγραμμένους δεσπτας[1]

ἢ γράμμα ἐκκόψῃ ἢ πωλήσαι θελήσῃ τὸ

μνημεῖον, δώσει τῷ ταμείῳ ✳ ,Β Φ

καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ✳ ,Β Φ.

[1] Sic. Perhaps for δεσπότας, meaning 'besides the owners whose names are inscribed.'

No. 7.

This sarcophagus with the altar beneath is the property of Marcus Pomponius Boro the physician, the friend of Augustus (he yet lives); and also of Ulpia Nika his wife (she too is alive).

It shall not be lawful for anyone else to be laid in it; and if anyone lays in it any other corpse, or erases the inscription, or sells the tomb, may he have no enjoyment either in his life, or in his children, or in his own body; and this applies to either seller or buyer.

This sarcophagus is under the care of the Board of Physicians of the Museum in Ephesus, for whom they consecrated it[1] as an hereditary possession.

[1] The concluding letters specify a sum of money in drachmae or denarii.

No. 8.

But if anyone contrary to the written [?] shall either erase a letter or desire to sell the tomb, he shall give to the treasury 2,500 denarii and to the city 2,500 denarii.

No. 9.

(*From a tomb near the Magnesian Gate.*)

Αὕτη ἡ σορός ἐστιν Αὐρηλίου
Ἡρώδου τοῦ καὶ Ζευξανεμίου
καὶ Αὐρηλίας Ἀπφίας καὶ τέκνων αὐτῶν.
Ζῶσιν.

No. 10.

(*From a tablet over door of tomb.*)

V. P. TERENTIVS. OLYMPVS. SIBI
ET. OCTAVIAE. PAVLAE. V. VXORI
SVAE. SVISQVE.

ΖΗ. Η. ΤΕΡΕΝΤΙΟΣ ΟΛΥΜΠΟΣ
ΕΑΥΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΟΚΤΑΒΙΑ ΠΑΥΛΑ ΖΗ
ΤΗ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΙΔΙΟΙΣ.

No. 9.

This sarcophagus belongs to Aurelius Herodes, also called Zeuxanemius, and Aurelia Apphia, and their children. In their lifetime.

(The following inscriptions, from Nos. 11 to 21, are from tombs or sarcophagi in the Via Sacra, the road from the Magnesian Gate to the Temple of Diana.)

No. 11.

L. MEMMIVS. T. E
OVE
TARRICHINENSIS. HEIC. SITVS
EST.

No. 12.

(From a small marble sarcophagus in the Via Sacra.)

P. CORNELI. NICEPHORI. NOMENCLATORIS.

Π. ΚΟΡΝΗΛΙΟΥ. ΝΕΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ. ΝΟΜΕΝΚΛΑΤΟΡΟΣ.

No. 13.

Τι. Κλα. Εὔτυχος ζῶν τὸ μνημεῖον κατεσκεύασεν ἑαυτῷ καὶ Κλαυδίᾳ Μούσῃ τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ Κλαυ. Βενούστῃ τῇ θυγατρὶ καὶ Τ. Μαρίῳ Μαρκέλλῳ τῷ γαμβρῷ καὶ Τι. Κλαυ. Βενούστῳ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τοῖς τούτων ἐκγόνοις καὶ τοῖς ἀπελευθέροις.

No. 14.

Τοῦτο τὸ ἡρῷον σὺν τῷ σωλαρίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐπικειμένοις ὀστοθηκαρίοις δύο ἐστὶν Αὐρ. Εὐτύχους Εὐόδου βουλευτοῦ καὶ Αὐρ. Τατίας τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τέκνων αὐτῶν. Εἰ δέ τις τολμήσει ἕτερον πτῶμα θάψαι ἢ γράμμα ἐκκόψαι, δώσει τῷ ταμείῳ ✳ B̄ F̄. Ζῶσιν.

No. 13.

Ti. Claudius Eutychus in his lifetime erected the tomb for himself and Claudia Musa his wife, and Claudia Venusta his daughter, and T. Marius Marcellus his son-in-law, and Ti. Claudius Venustus his son, and their descendants, and to his freedmen.

No. 14.

This sanctuary with the terrace and the two ossuaries that are thereupon belongs to Aurelius Eutyches Euhodus, a councillor, and to Aurelia Tatia his wife, and to their children. But if anyone shall dare to bury another body herein or to erase a letter, he shall pay to the treasury 2,500 denarii. In their lifetime.

No. 15.

Τοῦτο τὸ ἡρῷον καὶ ὁ ἄνετος τόπος ἐστὶν
Πονπωνίας Φαυστείνης κοσμητείρης τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος
ἀπὸ προγόνων καὶ Μενάνδρου ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς. Τοῦ
ἡρῴου κήδονται Αὐρ . . . . καὶ Νείκων καὶ οἱ λιποὶ ἀν'
ἀπελεύθεροι Μενάνδρου τούτου σιενετος ὁ θαυπ . . . . μα.
Ζῆι.

No. 16.

Αὕτη ἡ σορὸς καὶ ὁ βωμὸς ὁ λίθινος καὶ ὁ περίβολος
ὁ περὶ αὐτόν ἐστιν Πομπείας Διογενίας
καὶ Μάρκου Σερβιλίου Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τέκν. αὐτῶν. Ζῶσιν.

No. 17.

Τοῦτο τὸ ἡρῷόν ἐστιν καὶ ἡ κατ' αὐτὸν σορὸς σὺν τῷ
περιβόλῳ Αὐρ. Χρυσέρωτος Σεβ. ἀπελευθέρου δεκαδάρχου καὶ
τέκνων αὐτοῦ καὶ Οὐεννίας Καπετωλείνης γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ. Ζῶσιν.

No. 15.

This shrine and the dedicated spot belong to Pomponia Faustina, priestess of Artemis, an hereditary office, and to Menandros her husband. The shrine is under the care of Aur . . . . and Neikon and the rest of the freedmen of Menandros.

[*Remainder unintelligible.*]

No. 16.

This sarcophagus and the stone altar and the enclosure which is around it belong to Pompeia Diogenia and Marcus Servilius Alexander, and their children. In their lifetime.

No. 17.

This sanctuary and the sarcophagus which is along it, with the enclosure, belong to Aurelius Chryseros, a freedman of Augustus, a decurio, and to his children, and to Vennia Capitolina his wife. In their lifetime.

No. 18.

Λ. Καλπουρνίῳ Καλπουρνιανῷ

Τ. Καλπούρνιος Κυιντιανὸς Ἀφρικανός

κατεσκεύασεν σὺν τῇ ἐκβασμειδώσει

τὸν βωμόν.

Ῥηνῷ πὰρ ποταμῷ γενόμην, Πόλλιττα δὲ μήτηρ,

Κυιντιανὸς δὲ πατὴρ, Προυσιάδος δὲ πάτρης,

Καλπουρνιανὸς δ' οὔνομα. ἔτη δ' ἐπὶ πέντε λόγοισιν

Εἰν Ἐφέσῳ σχολάσας εἰκοσετὴς ἔθανον.

Ὁ ἐνοχλήσας τούτῳ τῷ βωμῷ ἢ τῷ τόπῳ καταβαλεῖ εἰς τὸν φισκὸν

✳ μύρια.

No. 19.

Ἅιδης νυμφιδίων κραδίην πεπληθότα λέκτρων

Ζωίλον αἰακτῷ τῷδ' ὑπένασσε τάφῳ,

καλή τε γνωτή τε παναιδοίη Στρατονίκη

γείνατ' Ἀλέξανδρον κοῦρον ὁμηγενέα,

ἀστοῖς καὶ ξείνοισι προσηνέας ἐσθλὰ μὲν εἰπεῖν,

ἐσθλὰ δὲ καὶ ῥέξαι πάντας ἐπισταμένους.

Λητογενὲς, σὺ δὲ παῖδας ἐν ἡρῴεσσι φυλάσσοις,

κεκλιμένων αἰεὶ χῶρον ἐπερχόμενος.

No. 18.

To Lucius Calpurnius Calpurnianus
Titus Calpurnius Quintianus Africanus
set up and furnished with its plinth
this altar.

I was born by the river Rhenus, Pollitta was my mother, Quintianus my father, Prusias my country, Calpurnianus my name, and after studying for five years philosophy at Ephesus, I died at the age of twenty years.

Any person molesting this altar or place shall pay ten thousand denarii into the imperial treasury.

No. 19.

'Hades (Death) laid beneath this much-lamented tomb [Zoilus] satisfied in heart with his first marriage-bed, and fair as she was and beloved by him, she bore a boy Alexander at the same birth with the much-revered Stratonice. Kind they were in speaking good words to citizens and strangers, and well too they knew how to do good deeds to all. Son of Latona! may'st thou keep these children among the heroes (below), ever visiting the spot where they lie buried.'

In the first and second lines the names are conjectural, the termination only of the latter being legible. In line 3 ΤΕΓΝΩΤΙΙΤΕ is quite certain, and the letter preceding seems to have been H. The verse allows only of two or three syllables supplied. Hesychius has: *γνωτή· ἀδελφὴ, ἢ ἐρωμένη.*

No. 20.

Dis Manibus:

Aciliae Lamyrae coniugi
carissimae: Apollonius
Augusti nostri vernà, arcarius Pro-
vinciae Asiae, hoc monumentum
cum sarcophago fecit et sibi et su-
is. Quorum curam agunt collegia
libertorum et servorum domini nostri Augusti
infra scripta, Magnum et Minervium tabulari-
orum et Faustinianum commen-
tarensium et decurionum et ta-
bellariorum.
Hoc monumentum heredem non sequitur.

No. 20.

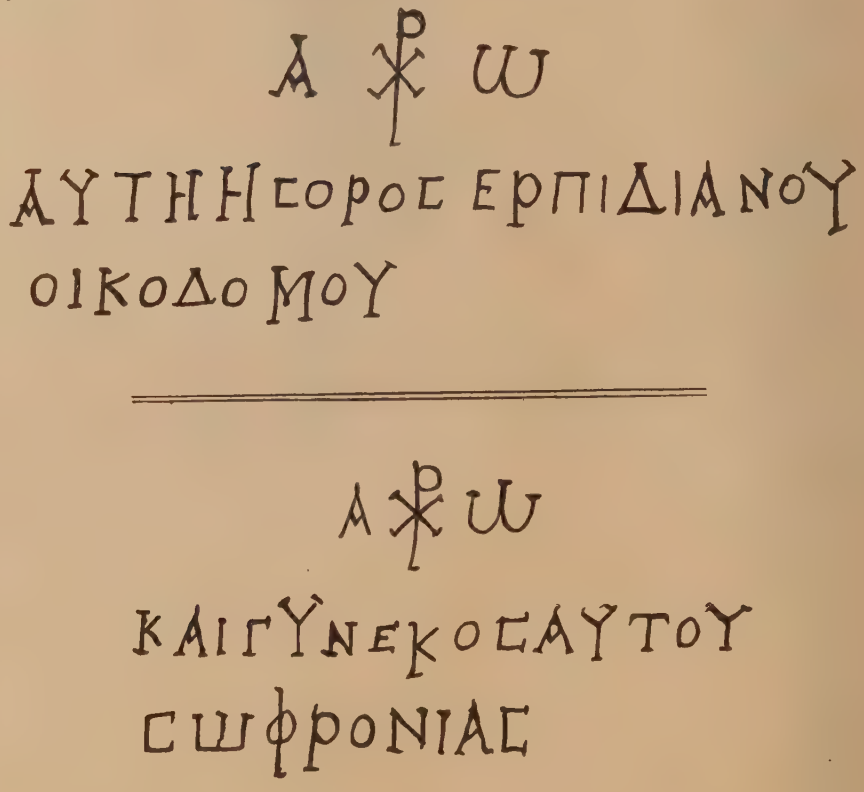
Sacred to the gods Manes.[1] In honour of his beloved wife Acilia Lamyra, Apollonius born slave of our Lord Augustus, cashier of the Province of Asia, erected this monument together with a sarcophagus for himself and his family. The custody of these (the monument and the sarcophagus) is given to the colleges, enumerated below,[2] of the freedmen and the slaves of our Lord Augustus, to wit the Great college and the Minervian college of accountants and the Faustinian college of registrars and overseers and keepers of the archives. This monument does not fall to the heir.

[1] Or holy spirits of the dead.

[2] It is clearly AVG. I. S. on the stone. The Faustinian was a college in honour of Faustina.

No. 21.

(*From the cover of a marble sarcophagus.*)



INSCRIPTIONS

FROM

THE CITY AND SUBURBS

No. 1.

(*Found in a causeway near the River Cayster, about two miles north of Ayasalouk.*)

οἱ δικαστοί.—ἐξεῖναι δὲ τοῖς δικασταῖς ἐὰν αὐτοῖς μὴ φαίνηται δικαστικὸν εἶναι τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν γεωργὸς πλέονος τετιμῆσθαι, ὁ δὲ τοκιστὴς ἐλάττονος, ἐξεῖναι αὐτοῖς τιμῆσαι ὅσου ἂν δοκῇ καλῶς ἔχειν—τοῦ δὲ χρέους μὴ εἶναι ἀντιτίμησιν—ἐὰν δὲ ἡ μὲν τίμησις συνομολόγηται τὸ δὲ δάνειον διαμφισβητῆται, ἢ τὸ μὲν δάνεον συνομολογῆται, ἡ δὲ τίμησις ἀντιλέγηται, περὶ τοῦ ἀμφισβητουμένου τὴγ κρίσιν εἶναι—ἃ δ᾽ ἂν οἱ δικασταὶ δικάζωσιν ἀναγράψαντες εἰς λεύκωμα οἱ εἰσαγωγεῖς καὶ τὰς ἐπικρίσεις τὰς τῶν διαιτητῶν, ἃς ἂν ἐπὶ τοῦ δικαστηρίου συνομολογήσωσιν παραδότωσαν τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ πολέμου ἠιρημένοις—ὅταν δὲ παραλάβωσιν οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ πολέμου ἠιρημένοι τὰς κρίσεις καὶ τὰς διαιτὰς κληρούτωσαν ἐκ τῶν τριακόντα τῶν ἠιρημένων ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καθ᾽ ἑκάστην πενθήμερον ἄνδρας πέντε διαιρετὰς τῶγ κτημάτων, κληρούτωσαν δὲ καὶ τοὺς τόπους ἀναγραψάμενοι, οἱ δὲ λαχόντες διαιρείτωσαν καθ᾽ οὓς ἂν ἕκαστοι τόπους λάχωσιν, μὴ διασπῶντες μήτε τὰ τοῦ τοκιστοῦ μέρη μήτε τὰ τοῦ γεωργοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὰ μέρη τέμνοντες συνεχῆ ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἀποδιδότωσαν τῆς γῆς τοῖς τοκισταῖς καὶ τοῖς γεωργοῖς κατὰ λόγον ἑκατέροις τῶν ἐνόντωγ χρημάτων συλλογισάμενοι τό τε δάνειον καὶ τὴν τίμη-

No. 1.

The jurors.—It shall be lawful for the jurors, if the matter appear to them to be unfit for a suit, and the farmer to have fixed too high a value, and the money-lender too low, to fix the value at such a sum as shall appear to them right: there shall be no counter-valuation of the debt: and if the valuation be agreed to, but the amount of the loan be a subject of dispute between them, or the amount of the loan be agreed to, but the valuation be objected to, the judgment shall be on the point in dispute: whatever decision the jury come to, the officers, who bring the suit into court, shall record it on a tablet as well as the decisions of the arbitrators, which they shall have agreed on when sitting in court, and shall hand them over to the officers appointed during the common war: and so soon as the officers appointed during the common war shall have received the decisions and arbitrations, they shall select by lot out of the thirty elected by the people five men to act for every five days as commissioners for the distribution of the property: They shall further have registered and allot the districts: and they who are allotted to this office shall divide the districts to which each may be assigned, not by severance of the parts claimed by the money-lenders or by the cultivator respectively, but by assigning the allotments contiguous to each other: and they shall assign the allotments of the land both to the money-lenders and to the cultivators, to each in proportion to the amount of property vested therein, after calculating the amount both of the loans and of the valuation

σιν. διαιρείτωσαν δὲ ἐν τῆι διαιρέσει τῆς χώρας ὁδοὺς πρός τε τὰ ἱερὰ, καὶ πρὸς τὰ ὕδατα καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐπαύλιας καὶ περὶ τάφους—ἐὰν δέ τινες διαμφισβητήσωσιν τῆι γεγενημένηι διαιρέσει, ἐπαγγειλάτωσαν τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ πολέμου ἡιρημένοις καὶ τῶι ἐπὶ τοῦ δικαστηρίου τεταγμένωι—ὁ δὲ ἀποδεδειγμένος ἐπὶ τοῦ δικαστηρίου ἐξαγέτω ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον· οἱ δὲ δικασταὶ ἐάν τι δοκῆι αὐτοῖς μὴ δικαίως διηιρῆσθαι ἀνισούτωσαν κατὰ λόγον ἑκάστοις προσνέμοντες τοῦ δανείου καὶ τῆς τιμήσεως, τοὺς δὲ γενομένους ὑπὸ τῶν διαιτητῶν ἢ τῶν δικαστῶν μερισμοὺς ἀνενεγκάτωσαν οἱ διαιτηταὶ καὶ οἱ δικασταὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡιρημένους ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ πολέμου ἀναγράψαντες τά τε ὀνόματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τοὺς τόπους καὶ τοὺς ὅρους τῶμ μερισμῶν οἱ δὲ ἡιρημένοι γράψαντες εἰς λευκώματα παραδότωσαν τοῖς νεωποίαις θεῖναι ἐπὶ τὸ ἔδεθλον παραδότωσαν δὲ καὶ τῶι ἀντιγραφεῖ τούτων ἀντίγραφα ἵν' ἔξηι τῶι βουλομένωι τῶμ πολιτῶν ἐφορᾶν τοὺς γεγενημένους μερισμοὺς τῶν ἐγγαίων, καὶ κοινὴμ μὲν διαίρεσιν ταύτην εἶναι—ἂν δέ πως ἄλλως πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁμολογήσωσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς διαιρέσε· ως καὶ ἀπογράψωνται πρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ πολέμου, οὕτως αὐτοῖς εἶναι ὡς ἂν ὁμολογήσωσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους· ἀντίγραφα δὲ λαμβάνειν τὸγ γεωργὸν τῶν τοῦ τοκιστοῦ

of the land. And in the division of the land they shall set out roads to the temples, and to the water-courses, and to the homesteads, and about places of sepulture. And if a dispute arise between any persons on the assignment made, they shall give notice to the officers elected during the common war, and to the appointed president of the court: he that is appointed president of the court shall conduct the jury to the spot, and if it appear to them that there has been any unfair assignment, they shall equalise it by assigning to each in proportion to the amount of the loan and the valuation of the land: Of the partitions made by the arbitrators or by the jury the arbitrators and the jury shall make a return to the officers chosen during the common war, registering both the names of the men, and the plots of ground, and the boundaries of the several divisions: and the officers so elected after writing them out on notice boards shall hand them over to the temple-wardens to set up in the ground: They shall also deliver copies of these to the checking clerk, that any citizen who pleases may be able to see what partitions of landed property have taken place; and that this their assignment may be a public one: and if they shall have come to any other agreement among themselves respecting the assignment of land, and have this agreement registered before those appointed during the common war, this shall stand and be valid for them as they have agreed with each other. The cultivator shall receive a copy of the statement furnished to him by the money-lender with

τούτου αὐτῶι προσκοινωνοῦντος, καὶ τὸν τοκιστὴν τῶν τοῦ γεωργοῦ τοῦ αὐτῶι προσκοινωνοῦντος τιμημάτωγ καὶ δανείων, καὶ ἐπίτροπον ὑπὲρ ὀρφάνου καὶ τοὺς συνορφανιστὰς οὓς ἂν παραλαμβάνωσιν· ἐκτὸς τούτων δὲ μηθένα λαμβάνειν μηδὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ τούτων τεταγμένους διδόναι μηδὲ αὐτοὺς λαμβάνειν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἐξωλῆ εἶναι καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν λαβόντα καὶ ὃς ἂν ἑτέρωι δῶι, καὶ ὑπόδικον εἶναι καὶ τὸν λαβόντα καὶ τὸν δόντα ὡς ἀπειθοῦντα καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντα τοῖς συφέρουσι τῆς πόλεως—ὅσοι δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑπερέχουσι δεδανείκασιν, εἶναι τὴγ κομιδὴν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ περιόντος μέρους τῶι γεωργῶι κἂν εἷς κἂμ πλείους ὦσι· τοῖς πρώτοις πρώτοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπεξῆς, τὸν δὲ νόμον εἶναι καὶ τούτοις καθάπερ καὶ τοῖς πρώτοις δανείσασιν· εἰ δέ τινες ἐγγυῶντες ἄλλοις κτήματα δεδανεισμένοι εἰσὶμ παρ᾽ ἑτέρων ὧς ἐπ᾽ ἐλευθέροις τοῖς κτήμασιν ἐξαπατήσαντες τοὺς ὑστέρους δανειστὰς, ἐξεῖναι τοῖς ὑστέροις δανειστα῀ις ἐξαλλάξασι τοὺς πρότερον δανειστὰς κατὰ τὸν συλλογισμὸν τοῦ κοινοῦ πολέμου, ἔχειν τὰ κτήματα ἐὰν δὲ ἐνοφείληταί τι αὐτοῖς ἔτι, εἶναι τὴγ κομιδὴμ τοῖς δανειστα῀ις ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης οὐσίας τοῦ χρειστοῦ πάσης τρόπωι ὧι ἂν δύνωνται ἀζημίοις

whom he has dealings of the valuations made and of the sums advanced by the money-lender, and the money-lender shall do the same in the case of the cultivators : guardians too, and those whom they choose to act as co-guardians on behalf of orphans ; but beside these no other person shall receive a copy : and not even the officers appointed to take charge of these matters shall give or themselves take one, under penalty of utter ruin both to the person himself who receives it and whoever gives it to another : both the giver and the receiver shall be liable to prosecution as a violator of the law, and a plotter against the interests of the State. All who have lent money upon securities which are beyond the reach of the law, shall have the right of recovery from whatever part of the property remains in the hands of the cultivator, be these one, or be they more, the first lender first, and the others in order, and the law shall be the same for them as for the original lenders. But if any while pledging real property to one party have raised money upon it from others as though it were unincumbered property, by deceiving the latter lenders, then the second lenders shall be allowed, after getting quit of the original creditors according to the money-rate allowed during the common war, to keep the property : and if there be anything further due to them on the property, the creditors shall have the right of recovery from all other property of the debtor, in any way he may be able, without being liable to any penalty ; and if this too be mortgaged, the right of recovery from the mortgaged pro-

ἁπάσης ζημίας· ἂν δὲ καὶ ἔγγυος ᾖι, εἶναι τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἐγγύου κομιδὴν καθάπερ ἐκ τῶν μετέωρα ἐγγυωμένων—ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐγγύων τῶν ἐγγυωμένων πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ κτήματα—εἂμ μὲν ἴση ᾖι ἡ τιμὴ τοῦ κτήματος τῶι δανείωι πρὸς ὃ ἂν ᾖι ἔγγυος τῆι τιμήσει τῆι πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου γεγενημένηι ἀπηλλάχθαι τὸν ἔγγυον τῆς ἐγγύης· ἐὰν δὲ πλέον ᾖι τὸ ὀφείλημα τῆς τιμῆς τοῦ κτήματος, τὸ πλέον ὀφείλημα τῆς τιμῆς ὁ ἔγγυος ἀποτινέτω κατὰ λόγον ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ τὰ μέτεωρα ἐγγυῶντες, ἐὰμ μὴ ἐπιτετοκισμένον ᾖι εἰς πλείω χρόνον τῆς ἐν τῆι πράξει γεγενημένης ἐγγύης—ἐὰν δὲ ἐπιτετοκικὼς ᾖι ὁ δανειστὴς παρὰ τὴμ πρᾶξιν καὶ τὸν χρόνον τὸν ὡμολογημένον ἐν τῆι πράξει μὴ ἀποτίνειν τὸν ἔγγυον ὧι πλεῖον ᾖι ἐπιτετοκισμένον ἐὰμ μὴ ἐπεσχηκὼς ᾖι τὴν εἰσπρᾶξιν ὁ τοκιστὴς συμβουλομένου τοῦ ἐγγύου - περὶ δὲ τούτου ἂν ἀμφισβήτωσιγ, κρίσιν αὐτοῖς γίνεσθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ ξενικοῦ δικαστηρίου, ἂμ μή τι ὑπὸ τῶν διαιτητῶν συμπεισθῆι· τῆς δὲ δίκης ἄρχειν τὸν τοκιστὴν—εἰ δέ τις ἐπίτροπος ἐν τῆι ἐπιτρόπηι λαβὼν αὐτὸς ἔχει χρήματα τῶν τοῦ ὀρφάνου τρόπωι ὀτωιοῦν, τούτωι μὴ

perty shall be the same as in the case of those who mortgage land with a bad title. Touching those who are surety for men who borrow upon the security of landed property only :—If the value of the estate be equal to the amount of the loan for which the man is surety according to the valuation made before the war, the surety shall be released from his responsibility; but if the debt exceed the value of the estate, the surety shall pay the sum by which the debt exceeds the value, in the same way as the others who mortgage lands with a bad title, unless additional interest has been charged for a longer period than the liability created in the contract lasts. If however the lender has charged additional interest beyond the contract and the time agreed upon therein, the surety who has been charged additional interest shall not be bound to pay unless the money-lender shall have postponed his proceeding for recovery with the consent of the surety : and if they disagree on this point, they shall have a hearing before the international court, unless they be persuaded by the arbitrators to come to some compromise : the money-lender shall commence the suit : If any guardian by virtue of his office has taken possession of and still holds property belonging to his ward in any manner whatsoever, he shall not be

εἶναι κοινὸν τὸμ πόλεμον—ὅσοι δὲ φερνὰς ὀφείλουσι θυγατρίοις ἢ ἀδελφαῖς ταῖς αὐτῶν μεμερικότες ἐκ τῆς πατρωίας οὐσίας ἢ ἐπίτροποι ὑπὸ πατρὸς καταλελειμμένοι, ἢ ὑπὸ δήμου ἠιρημένοι ταῖς ὀρφάναις ταῖς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐπιτροπευομέναις μὴ ἀποδεδώκασι τὰς φερνὰς ἃς οἱ πατέρες ἔταξαν, ἢ γήμαντες καὶ διαλυθέντες μὴ ἀποδεδώκασι τὰς φερνὰς οὔσας ἀποδότους κατὰ τὸν νόμον, τούτους ἀποδιδόναι τὰς φερνὰς καὶ τοὺς τόκους κατὰ τὰς πράξεις καὶ μὴ εἶναι αὐτοῖς ὑπολογίζεσθαι τὸγ κοινὸμ πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ τὸ γενόμενον διάπτωμα ἀναπληρούτωσαν εἰς τὴν φερνὴν ταῖς ὀρφάναις οἱ ἐπίτροποι ἐκ τοῦ ἄλλου οἴκου οὗ ἂν ἐπιτροπεύωσι.

allowed to plead the war as common. All too who owe dowries to daughters or to their own sisters on a division of the paternal estate, or who having been left by a father's will or chosen by the people guardians have not paid to the orphans the dowries which their fathers appointed, or after marrying them and then being divorced have not repaid the dowries, which by law should be repaid, they shall repay the dowries and the interest according to the settled arrangements, and shall not be allowed to set up as a counter plea the common war; what is deficient in the dowry the guardians shall make good to the orphans from whatever other part of the property they may have the management of.

ὅσοι δὲ ἐπὶ κτήμασιν δεδανεισμένοι εἰσὶν ἀπὸ Δημαγόρου Πρυτάνεως καὶ μηνὸς Ποσιδεῶνος, τούτοις τὸμ μὲγ κοινὸμ πόλεμον εἶναι ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις . τὰς δὲ τιμήσεις εἶναι τῶγ κτημάτων ἐν οἷς χρόνοις τὰ δάνεα καὶ αἱ πράξεις γεγόνασιν, ὅπως εἴ τινες κεκαρμένοις τοῖς κτήμασιν ἢ τῶν ἐπαυλίων καθηρημένων συνηλλάχασιν, οὕτως αἱ τιμήσεις αὐτῶν γίνωνται ὡς διακειμένοις συνήλλαξαν τοῖς κτήμασιν—ὅσοι δὲ πρὸ Ἀπολλάδος καὶ μηνὸς Ληναιῶνος πράξεις πεπράγασιν ἐναντίας τῶι κοινῶι πολέμωι μὴ εἶναι τὰς πράξεις κυρίας · ἀλλ' εἶναι τοὺς ὀφείλοντας τούτοις ἐν τῶι κοινῶι πολέμωι—ὅσοι δὲ ἀπὸ μηνὸς Ληναιῶνος καὶ Ἀπολλὰ πράξεις πεπράγασιν ἐπὶ τοῖς κτήμασιν, τούτοις δ' εἶναι τὰς πράξεις κυρίας, καὶ μὴ εἶναι αὐτοῖς κοινὸν τὸμ πόλεμον ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῶι πολέμωι διαπιστεύσαντες εἰσευπόρησαν · τόκους δὲ αὐτοῖς εἶναι μὴ πλείους δωδεκάτων—ὑπὲρ τῶν δανειστῶν τῶν ἐμβεβηκότων εἰς κτήματα—ὅσοι μὲμ πρὸ μηνὸς Ποσιδεῶνος τοῦ ἐπὶ Δημαγόρου ἐμβάντες εἰς κτήματα κατὰ πράξεις ἔχουσιν τὰ κτήματα καὶ νέμονται, εἶναι αὐτοῖς κυρίας τὰς ἐμβάσεις εἰ μή τι ἄλλο ἑκόντες πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὡμολογήκασιν · περὶ δὲ τῆς παγκτησίας ἄν τινες ἀμφισβήτωσιν κρίσιν αὐτοῖς εἶναι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους

All who have borrowed money upon mortgage of landed property after the presidency of Demagoras and the month of Posideon shall be entitled to plead the common war like the rest, but the valuation of the property shall relate to the times at which the loans were contracted and the transaction completed, in order that if any have made agreements when the property had been laid waste and the homesteads destroyed, the valuations of them may represent the condition of the property at the time when they made their agreements. All who have concluded transactions [or exacted payments] before the presidency of Apollas and the month of Lenaeon contrary to the interest of the common war, their transactions [or exactions] shall not be valid, but their debtors shall be allowed to plead the common war.—All who have concluded transactions respecting landed estates [or exacted payments on property] after the month of Lenaeon and the presidency of Apollas, the transactions shall be valid, and they shall not be entitled to plead the common war, since during the war they gave credit and made a good income : the interest to be received by them shall not exceed $8\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. Touching the money-lenders who have entered upon property :—All who have entered upon property before the month of Posideon in Demagoras' year of office and hold the property in accordance with transactions and enjoy it, these entries shall be valid unless the parties have voluntarily covenanted with one another otherwise, and if any dispute the full possession they shall have a hearing according to the laws. All who have

ὅσοι δὲ ἐμβεβήκασιν ὕστερον μηνὸς Ποσιδεῶνος τοῦ ἐπὶ Δημαγόρα νεμομένων τῶν δανεισαμένων τὰ κτήματα κατὰ τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ κατηγμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου τὰ μὲν κτήματα εἶναι τῶν δανεισαμένων καὶ νεμομένων, τὰ δὲ δάνεια τῶν δανειστῶν, τοῦ μερισμοῦ γενομένου καθάπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δανεισταῖς—ἐὰν δὲ διαμφισβητήσωσιν οἱ δανείσαντες πρὸς τοὺς ὀφείλοντας φάμενοι ἐμβεβηκέναι πρότερον Δημαγόρου Πρυτάνεως καὶ μηνὸς Ποσιδεῶνος, κρίσιν αὐτοῖς γινέσθαι καθάπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐν τῶι κοινῶι πολέμωι ἐβλαμμένοις—εἰ δέ τινες μὴ ἐμβάντων τῶν δανειστῶν αὐτοὶ νεμόμενοι τὰ κτήματα ἑκόντες τι συνωμολόγηνται πρὸς τοὺς δανειστὰς μὴ βιασθέντες εἶναι αὐτοῖς τὰ ὡμολογημένα κύρια. ἐὰν δὲ ὁ μὲμ φῆι βεβίασθαι, ὁ δὲ μὴ, εἶναι αὐτοῖς κρίσιν περὶ τούτων ἐν τῶι ξενικῶι δικαστηριῶι, προδιαιτᾶσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν διαιτητῶν κατὰ τόνδε τὸν νόμον—ὅσοι δὲ ἐγκαταλιπόντες τὰ κτήματα ἀπηλλαγμένοι εἰσὶν, οἱ δὲ τοκισταὶ γεγεωργήκασιν, εἶναι τὰ κτήματα τῶν τοκιστῶν. ἐὰν δὲ βούλωνται οἱ ὀφείλοντες ἀποδόντες τὰ ἀνηλωμένα τοῖς τοκισταῖς καὶ τόκους ἐπὶ τέσσερες καὶ δεκάτους, καὶ εἴ τι αὐτοῖς ἀνήλωται εἰς τὴγ γὴν ἢ ἀπόλωλέ τι διὰ τὴγ γεωργίαν ὑπολογισθεισῶν τῶγ γεγενημένων προσόδωμ παραλαβεῖν τὰ κτήματα ἐξεῖναι αὐτοῖς ἀποδοῦσιν ἐν ἐνιαύτωι τωῖ ἐπὶ Δανάου μετέχειν αὐτοὺς τοῦ κοινοῦ πολέμου κατὰ ταὐτὰ

entered after the month of Posideon in Demagoras' year of office while the borrowers are still in the enjoyment of the property according to the decree, and after being restored to it by the people, the property shall belong to the borrowers now in the enjoyment of it, but the amount of the loan shall go to the creditors, the partition being made as in the case of the other creditors: and if the creditors dispute the case of the debtors, alleging that they had entered before the presidency of Demagoras and the month of Posideon, they shall be heard in the same way as the others who have suffered injury in the common war. If any, when the creditors have not yet entered, being themselves in the enjoyment of the property, have voluntarily and without compulsion come to an agreement with the creditors, the agreement shall in their case be valid; but if the one allege that force has been used and the other deny it, they shall be heard on this point in the international court; but they shall first submit their case for arbitration before the arbitrators according to this law.—All who have left their property and gone away, and the money-lenders have cultivated it, the property shall belong to the money-lenders: but if the debtors are willing to repay the money-lenders what they have expended on the land, with interest at $7\frac{1}{7}$ per cent, and any loss which they have incurred in the cultivation, reckoning *per contra* the income derived from it, and on these terms to take back the land, they may, provided these payments be made during Danaus' year of office, share the benefits of the common war on the same terms

τοῖς ἄλλοις—ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶγ γεγενημένων ἀναλωμάτων, καὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἐν τῇ γεωργίαι καὶ τῶμ προσόδων τῶγ γεγενημένων, ἐὰμ μέν τι πρὸς ἀλλήλους συμφωνήσωσιν ἢ συμπεισθῶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν διαιτητῶν, ταὐτ' εἶναι · εἰ δὲ μη, κρίσιν αὐτοῖς εἶναι ἐπὶ τοῦ ξενικοῦ δικαστηρίου καθάπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις · τῆς δὲ δίκης ἄρχειν τὸν ἐγκαταλιπόντα τὸ κτῆμα · εἰ δέ τινες ἐπὶ Δημαγόρου ἢ Μαντικράτους ἢ Ἀπολλάδος ἕως μηνὸς Ποσιδεῶνος,

* * * * * * * * * *

as the others. Touching the expenses which have been incurred, and the loss incurred in cultivation, and the income which has accrued, whether the parties come to some agreement together or the arbitrators persuade them, it shall be all one: if neither of these results follow, they shall have a hearing before the international court, just as in the other cases: the suit shall be commenced by him who has left the land, but if any, during the presidency of Demagoras, or of Manticrates, or of Apollas, up to the month of Posideon, ...

. . . . . .

* * * * * * * * * * *

13 (*The remainder of the inscription was not found.*)

We know nothing of the men named in the above inscriptions in connection with the history of Ephesus; but in the year 409 B.C. a state of things existed in Asia Minor which corresponds well with that referred to above.

The Athenians, under Thrasyllus,[1] landed a body of troops, and in the neighbourhood of Colophon burnt villages, destroyed crops, and ravaged the country,[2] and proceeded thence in the same manner to the neighbourhood of Ephesus, intending to attack the city, advancing against it in two divisions from opposite directions.

Tissaphernes raised the population of the country 'to defend the goddess,' and the Athenians were beaten off.

Parties at that time in the states of Asia Minor would be much influenced by the alternate successes and reverses of Athenian and Lacedæmonian arms, and it was difficult to unite the whole population in what the Greeks called a *κοινὸς πόλεμος*;[3] but the call 'to the defence of the goddess' would make this essentially such, and account for the prominence given to the term.

[1] Xenoph. *Hellenica*, l 1. ch. 2.

[2] Cf. line 4: *κεκαρμένοις τοῖς κτήμασιν—τῶν ἐπαυλίων καθηρημένων.*

[3] Cf. Xenoph. *Hiero*, 2. 8.

No. 2.

(*Found at the junction of the roads near the Coressian gate, three or four stadia from the Peribolus; but not* in situ.)

A

. . . . . ἐστήσαμεν πεντεκαιδεκάτην στήλην πρὸς τῇ ἱερᾷ χώρᾳ, καὶ ἑκκαιδεκάτην στήλην πρὸς τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ὡς ἡ αἱμασιά, ἀντίζυγον τῆς σταθείσης· προελθόντες δὲ ἐστήσαμεν ἑπτακαιδεκάτην στήλην πρὸς τοῖς ὁρίοις τοῖς . . . . . καὶ προελθόντες ὁμοίως ἐστήσαμεν ὀκτωκαιδεκάτην στήλην . . . . . ὁμοίως δὲ προελθόντες ἐστήσαμεν ἐννεακαιδεκάτην στήλην· ὁμοίως δὲ ἐστήσαμεν εἰκοστὴν στήλην α . . . . . ισ . . . . . τοις· ταῦτα δὲ εσ . . . . .

B

. . . . . τῆς δεκάτης στήλης . . . . . .

. . . . . κατὰ τὸ γένειον τοῦ . . . . . .

. . . . . τῆς ἐνάτης στήλης κ . . . . . .

. . . . . τῆς ὀγδόης στήλης ο . . . . . .

. . . . . ὁμοίως δὲ ἐστήσαμεν . . . . . .

No. 2.

A

'. . . . . [we set up a fif]teenth [*stelé*] against the sacred domain, [and a sixteenth] against the temples, at (or where) the stone-fence is, [opposite to] that which had been set up: [and going on] we set up a seventeenth *stelé* against the boundaries that . . . . . : and going on we in like manner set up an eighteenth *stelé* . . . . . : and in like manner going on we set up a nineteenth [*stelé*; and in like manner] we set up a twentieth *stelé* . . . . and these . . . . . '

B

'. . . . . of [the] tenth [*stelé*] . . . . . .

. . . . . down the chin (or beard)[1] . . . . . .

. . . . . of the ninth *stelé* . . . . . .

. . . . . of the eighth *stelé* . . . . . .

. . . . . and [in like manner] we set up . . . . . .'

[1] Or opposite.

Part of an inscription recording the means taken to mark the boundaries of the sacred domain of a temple, doubtless the Temple of Artemis. An inscription at the angle of the Artemisian Peribolus (No. 1.) states that Augustus caused the temple of 'the goddess' (so Gr. : *Dianae*, Lat.) and the Augusteum to be walled round (τιχισθῆναι, *muro muniendum*), and two others (2. 3.), likewise attached to the Peribolus a few feet off, state that Augustus 'restored the sacred *stelae* of the roads and watercourses (ῥείθρων) for Artemis.' One adds that the watercourse has a width of 15 cubits, and the other that the road has 'with the watercourse of the river' a width of 30 cubits; thereby implying that the road and river (? Selinus) ran side by side, and were of the same width. It seems to follow that the restoration of the *stelae* was distinct from the building of the Peribolus, while both took place by order of Augustus. We learn from Strabo (xiv. 1. 23, p. 641, Cas.) that Antony having extended the boundary of the sanctuary to double the distance allowed by Mithradates, the concession was annulled by Augustus. When therefore Augustus is said in the inscriptions to have 'restored' the *stelae* of the roads and watercourses, the language has special force if they together formed the extreme boundary of Artemisian territory. It is indeed difficult to reconcile the distances given, though vaguely, by Strabo with the supposition that the Peribolus marked only an inner enclosure within the extreme Augustan limits; for Mithradates is said to have exceeded but slightly the stadium 'from the corner of the roof,' which had formed the interval in an earlier determination by Alexander; and the Peribolus is a little more than a stadium distant from the site of the Temple. But on the other hand a statement of Strabo that the Antonian sanctuary included 'a certain part of the city' cannot be strictly true, unless the Antonian boundary was much more than twice as far from the temple as the Peribolus; though it may be justified by the supposition that it refers to the inclusion of outlying suburbs. In any case the inscriptions render it impossible to identify the line marked by the *stelae* with the line of the Peribolus. It seems probable, therefore, either that Strabo confused the distance of the Peribolus with that of the outer line, or that the limits restored by Augustus were not really Mithradatic, but intermediate in range and date between those of Mithradates and those of Antony, for on many occasions (συνέβη πολλάκις), says Strabo, the boundaries of asylum were changed. Old lines of demarcation were not likely to be always entirely obliterated at these successive enlargements; and thus what had once been the entire domain might easily remain in later days as an inner enclosure, a τέμενος within a χῶρος ἱερός. Nor is it perhaps accidental that we hear of a threefold sanctuary (τέμενός τε καὶ ἱερὸν καὶ ναόν) as dedicated to the Ephesian Artemis

by Xenophon, at a much earlier time, at Scillus in Elis (Paus. v. 6). So also an Ephesian inscription in *C. I. G.* (2954 A) states *οὐ μόνον ἐν τῇ ἠμετέρᾳ πόλει ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησι (?) πανταχοῦ ἀνεῖσθαι αὐτῆς ἱερά τε καὶ τεμένη καὶ αὐτῇ [? ναούς] τε ἱδρῦσθαι καὶ βωμοὺς ἀνακεῖσθαι*, where *ἀνεῖσθαι* followed by *τε καί* shews that two kinds of sacred lands (not buildings) are meant, whether Boeckh's supplements are exactly right or not: for *ναούς* he is not responsible. Upon this supposition the present inscription may be assumed to refer to the Augustan restoration recorded in the other inscriptions, and to be a statement of details by the *horistae*, to whom the religious function of limitation belonged. On the other hand, it would naturally be referred to the Antonian enlargement by those who take the Peribolus as the true Augustan boundary. It is tolerably clear from lines 2 and 3 that the course followed by the *horistae* did not, at least at that point, intersect the boundary, but coincided with it; since otherwise one alone of a pair of *stelae* would not have been described as set 'against the sacred domain.'

Fragment A records the placing of *stelae*, the fifteenth to the twentieth; fragment B apparently relates to some acts, probably of consecration, performed at or near the several *stelae* (the tenth to the eighth) in inverse order, doubtless as the *horistae* retraced their steps. Fragment A consists of two detached portions, which evidently belong to opposite ends of the same lines, the intermediate words being lost. In fragment B, the letters of which are a shade larger and more distant, the greater part of each line is lost.

A, line 2: *τῇ ἱερᾷ χώρᾳ*: cf. *C. I. G.* 1926, *ἱερὸς ὁ χῶρος τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος κ. τ. λ.*; 2919, *χωρὸς ἱερὸς ἄσυλος Διωνύσου Βάκχου*. Ib. *τοῖς ἱεροῖς*. What these temples were does not appear. The boundary may have been drawn with especial care at this point that neither sanctuary might encroach on the other. The obscure but perfectly legible phrase *ὡς ἡ αἱμασιά* may indicate either the point where a stone-fence met the road, or the boundary line formed by a stone-fence between the road and the enclosure (*τέμενος*) of 'the temples': *ὡς* likewise occurs in a somewhat similar inscription at Priene (*C. I. G.* 2905, D, 10 f.), *ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου ὡς παραφέρει παρὰ τὸν βουνὸν εἰς τὸ ἀπολῆγον αὐτοῦ ὅρους ἐπεκολάψαμεν*. *Ἀντίζυγον* is not certain; but it gives the right sense, and is of the required length: *ἀντίστοιχον* is too long. One *stele* was fixed just within the conjoined road and river, the other opposite to it on the other side of the road and river, touching the boundary of 'the temples.' In line 4 after *τοῖς ὁρίοις τοῖς* about fourteen letters are wanting before *καί*, and in line 5 about ten letters between *στήλην* and *ὁμοίως*.

B, line 2, τὸ γένειον, which is quite distinct, is probably the bearded chin of some statue, on which oil or libations may have been poured by way of consecration (cf. C. F. Hermann, *Gottesdienstl. Alterth.* 106 ff.).

The Priene inscription quoted above contains a record of the marking of political boundaries, partly by *stelae* (ἐθήκαμεν ὅρον), partly by inscriptions on rocks [ἄλλον]

No. 3.

(*On a loose stone found in the village of Ayasalouk, apparently part of a column.*)

. . . . . .

-ανης, ἱερατεύοντος

διὰ βίου τῶν πρὸ πόλε-

ως Δημητριαστῶν

καὶ Διονύσου Φλέω μυ-

στῶν Τίτου Αὐρηλίου

Πλουτάρχου, ἱεροφαν-

τοῦντος Πο. Κλαυδίου

Ἀριστοφάνους, ἐπιμε-

λητοῦ δὲ τῶν μυστη-

ρίων Σατορνείλου

. . . στουο . . σ . νος

. . . . . .

ὅρον ἐπεκολάψαμεν). The Ephesian inscription is slightly noticed by E. Curtius (*Beiträge zur Gesch. u. Topog. Kleinasiens* in Proc. of Berlin Academy, 1872, pp. 28 f.). Tacitus describes briefly an investigation of the claims of asylum urged by various Asiatic temples, including that of Ephesus, which was made by the senate under Tiberius (*Ann.* iii. 60 ff.).

No. 3.

'. . . . Titus Aurelius Plutarchus being priest for life of the Demetriasts and *mystae* of Dionysus Phleôs without the city, Publius Claudius Aristophanes being hierophant, and Saturneilus . . . . being commissioner of the mysteries . . . . . .'

The subject of the inscription does not appear. What remains of it refers to certain persons holding office in connection with religious mysteries. Line 2 : διὰ βίου occurs similarly in other inscriptions, e.g. at Aphrodisias, ἱερέα διὰ βίου θεᾶς Ἀφροδίτης (*C. I. G.* 2782, 15). On the phrase πρὸ πόλεως prefixed to the names of deities see Boeckh in *C. I. G.* 2963 c, and Waddington, *Voy. Arch.* iii. n. 1601 : these writers give references to Artemis at Ephesus (2963 c), Demeter at Smyrna as here (3194, 3211), Hecate at Aphrodisias (2796), Dionysus apparently at Thera as here (2462, ἱερέα διὰ γένους τοῦ πρὸ πόλεως Διονύσου), and a local deity, Tirymnus, at Thyatira (3493: cf. 3500); also Ὄγκα πρὸ πόλεως (Athene) at Thebes in Aesch. *Theb.* 162. Temples so described evidently stood at the entrance of cities, without the gates. Line 3 : Δημητριαστής is a new word, denoting those who had charge of the festivals or rites in honour of Demeter: many similar titles, as Διονυσιασταί, Ἀσκληπιασταί, occur in inscriptions (C. F. Hermann-Stark, *Göttesd. Alt.* 7 n. 10: for, 67 n. 9). A σύνοδος of *mystae* of Demeter is mentioned in inscriptions of Smyrna (*C. I. G.* 3194, 3199, 3200). Line 4 contains an obscure name of Dionysus, which

appears in several forms, Φλέως (Φλέων), Φλεύς, Φλιοῦς or Φλῖος (Φλεῖος), and Φλοῖος. Aelian, *V. H.* iii. 41, *ὅτι τὸ πολυκαρπεῖν οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ὠνόμαζον φλύειν, ὅθεν τὸν Διόνυσον Φλεῶνα ἐκάλουν*; Hesych., Φλέως, *Διονύσου ἱερόν*; Herodian, *π. μον. λεξ.* p. 6: *τὸ Φεύς (Φλεύς) ἐπὶ τοῦ Διονύσου κείμενον, ὡς ἐν ταῖς ἐπικλήσεσιν εὕρομεν, καθ' ἱστορίαν ἐστὶν εἰρημένον*, and so in other gramm. cited by Lobeck (*Aglaoph.* 402) and others. Etym. Mag. (s. v. φλῶ) Φλεύς, *ὁ Διόνυσος ἐν Χίῳ, παρὰ τὸ εὐκαρπεῖν.* Schol. Apol. Rhod. i. 115, *καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ Διόνυσος Φλιοῦς ὠνομάζετο, ἀπὸ τοῦ φλεῖν τὸν οἶνον, ὅ ἐστιν εὐθηνεῖν.* Etym. Mag. (s. v. Κρῖος), *τὸ δὲ* Φλῖος, *σημαίνει δὲ τὸν Διόνυσον, κ. τ. λ.* Plut. *Symp. Probl.* v. 8, p. 683 E, *εἶναι δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τινάς, οἳ Φλοίῳ Διονύσῳ θύουσιν*; and again he has *τὸ Φλοῖον* twice in a corrupt passage of his *Quaest. Graec.* (56, p. 303 D), on the pursuit of the Amazons by Dionysus from Ephesus to Samos: cf. Φλοιοῦς for Φλιοῦς, as an ancient home of the mysteries, three times in Hipp. *Haer.* v. 20. The absence of an article after *καί* seems to shew that a single college of ministrants discharged both offices. In like manner the term *πρὸ πόλεως* is

No. 4.

(*From a pedestal found in a building near the Odeum.*)

Πο. Οὐήδιον
Ἀντωνῖνον,
τὸν κτιστὴν
τῆς Ἐφεσίων
πόλεως,
ἡ συνεργασία
τῶν λαναρίων.

apparently common to both seats of worship, though it might belong to the Demetriasts alone. Hitherto there has been hardly more than constructive evidence for Ephesian worship of either Demeter or Dionysus (Guhl, *Ephesiaca*, 123, 127 f.). It seems probable that the worship of Demeter came from Eleusis to Ephesus with the Athenian immigration under Androclus (Guhl); and there is evidence that, like Persephone, whom Hesychius states to have been herself called Φλοία by the Laconians, Dionysus was often associated with the Demeter of the mysteries in early times: cf. Preller, *Dem. u. Pers.* 53 f., 135, 209 ff.; Gerhard, *Mythol.* i. 139 f., 453, 473 ff. On the names of offices relating to the mysteries see C. F. Hermann-Stark, ubi sup. 32, 55. Line 10: The forms Σατορνεῖλος and Σατορνεῖνος both occur in inscriptions as they do in literature. In line 11 Ἰούστου Ὀνασίωνος would fulfil the requirements of space, but cannot be confidently accepted. The transcript doubtfully indicates as the last word Ὀμησωνος.

No. 4.

[To] Publius Vedius Antoninus, the founder of the city of the Ephesians, [erected by] the guild of the woolcarders.

P. Vedius Antoninus was apparently a favourite of Antoninus Pius, employed by him in the erection of public buildings at Ephesus: see inscriptions from Odeum. This emperor, like Augustus and apparently Hadrian, is called a founder by the Ephesians in another inscription (C. Curtius, 184 ff.); and here the title is extended to his local representative.

The word *συνεργασία*, 'guild,' occurs in many Asiatic inscriptions: cf. Boeckh on No. 3480. The woolcarders are properly called *ἐριουργοί*: the common Latin term in a Greek dress is known only from the scholia on Apollonius Rhodius, iv. 177 (*ὅθεν καὶ λανάριοι καλοῦνται οἱ κτενισταί*).

No. 5.

(*From a pedestal found in excavation on the high ground nearly opposite the Odeum.*)

. . . λίαν (?) . . . . . .,
θυγατέρα Τιβ. Κλ. Ἑρμεία
τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ὑπατικοῦ
καὶ Αἰλίας Πειθιάδος τῆς
κρατίστης ὑπατικῆς,
ἀδελφὴν Τιβ. Κλ. Δράκοντος
Σωσιπάτρας Θεωνίδος
τῶν κρατίστων,
ἀνεψιὰν καὶ ἀπόγονον
πολλῶν ὑπατικῶν,
Φλ. Ζώτικος τὴν ἰδίαν
πατρώνισαν.

No. 6.

(*From a gate in street near the Great Theatre.*)

Χριστιανῶν βασιλέων
πρασίνων
πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη

Εὐσεβέων βασιλέων
πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη

No. 5.

[To] Aelia (?) . . . ., daughter of Tiberius Claudius Hermeias, the right illustrious consular, and of Ælia Peithias, the right excellent consular, sister of Tiberius Claudius Dracon, of Sosipatra [and] Theonis the right excellent, kinswoman and descendant of many consular persons, [erected by] Flavius Zoticus, [she being] his own patroness.

A sepulchral inscription to a lady by a dependent, probably a freedman.

Line 1 : Only the bases of four letters remain, taken (perhaps rightly) as belonging to Κλαυδίαν by C. Curtius, who has published this inscription in *Hermes*, iv. 193 f. Line 3 : C. Curtius takes *ου* as the last syllable of Ἑρμείου ; but the analogy of line 4 suggests the article. Line 12 : The word *πατρώνισα* has been previously known only (in the form *-ισσα*) from the later Greek law-books, cited by Ducange, p. 1137.

C. Curtius points out that the name Flavius indicates a date not earlier than that of the Flavian emperors.

No. 6.

Of the Christian emperors
of the green faction

may the years be many !

Of the pious emperors
may the years be many !

No. 7.

(*From a basilica near the Odeum.*)

Tiberio Claudio Secundo, viatori tribunicio, accenso velato, lictori curiato, gerusia honori(s) caussa sua pecunia.

ἡ γερουσία ἐτείμησεν Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον Σεκοῦνδον, οὐιάτορα τριβουνίκιον, ἀκκῆνσον οὐηλᾶτον, λείκτορα κουριᾶτον ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων.

No. 8.

(*From a marble step at the east end of the double church in the Forum.*)

. . . . . μης	Ἀριστοβούλου	Διορόθεος Ἱππίου
. . . . . ης . . .	θόγενος	Αἰσχρίων Ἀπολλωνίου
. . . . .	Πέργωνος	Ἀρτέμων Ἀρτέμωνος
. . . . .	Ἀριστοβούλου	Διοπείθης Κλήτου
. . . . .	Ἀριστοβούλου	Πλάτως Πλάτωνος
. . . . .		Πρύτανις Ἱπποκλεῖου
. . . . .	Ἀρτεμιδώρου	Ἐγκαίριος Ἐγκαιρίου
. . . . . γόρου		Χαιρεφῶν Χαιρεφῶνος
. . . . .		Ἡρακλείδης Ἀντιγένου
. . . . . νιου		Μητρᾶς Μητρᾶ

No. 7.

The Senate erected (this statue ?) at their own expense in honour of Tiberius Claudius Secundus, a tribunician viator, one of the accensi velati, and a lictor curiatus.

. . . . . Ἀριστάρχου Σωτᾶς Ἀρισταγόρου

. . . . . Ποσειδώνιος Ποσειδωνίου

. . . . . ντος Νικόμαχος Νίκωνος

. . . . . τηρεῶνος Ἀρτεμίδωρος Διονυσικλέου

. . . . . λίωνος Ἐκκληστόρα Ὑμήδου

. . . . . μένοντος Ζηνόδοτος Ἀκρισίου

. . . . . ουθυκράτου Τηλέστρατος Ἀνδροφόρβου

. . . . . ου Δίων Κυάννου

. . . . . μηνιου Ζηνόδοτος Κυνι . . . .

. . . . . αρχέλας Σωτᾶς Θεύδα . . . .

. . . . .	Ζηνοδότου	Μηνόφιλος Μηνοφίλου
. . . . .	Δημοκλ	Ποσειδώνιος Κυδ . . . .
. . . . .	. . ώνοντος	Ζωίλος Πρυτάνιδος
. . . . .	Ἀπολλωνίδου	Ἀναξίβιος Ἡραγόρου
25	. . . . . ορος	Πυθίων Ἀρτεμιδώρου
. . . . .	Θράσωνος	Παιώνιος Χαρισιένου
. . . . .	. . . αρίωνος	Τιμοκλῆς Καϋστρίου
. . . . .	. . . οκράτου	Τιμόθεος Ἑρμίππου
. . . . .	Ἀριστοδήμου	Ἀθηναγόρας Ἀνδροπόμπου
30	Θεοφίλλου	Πειθαγόρας Χαρματίωνος
. . . . .	Ἀλεξάνδρου	Ἐπαίνετος Μάνδρωνος
. . . . .		Θεόφιλος Ἀμύντου
. . . . .	. . . . τίου	Δημοκράτης Δημητρίου
. . . . .	. . . . ρωτίου	Ἑρμογένης Χαιρέου
35	. . . . κράτου	Φιλέας Φιλέου
. . . . .	. . . καταίου	Ἀπολλόθεμις Ἀστέου
. . . . .	Κουράνου	Εὐήνως Θεοδώρου
. . . . .	ς Κλέωνος	Ποσειδώνιος Διοκλείου
. . . . .	ίδης Μενάνδρου	Δημήτριος Δημητρίου
40	ος Ἀρτεμιδώρου	Ἀπολλόδωρος Ζωίλου

Ζώπυρος	Ἑρμίου	Δημήτριος Πολυκλείτου
Ἀπολλώνιος	Μαιανδρίου	Ἀπολλᾶς Μητρᾶ
. . . τωλέων	Πύρρου	Ἀναξαγόρας Ἀγελέωνος
. . . . . ων	Καϋστρίου	Ἀριστοκράτης Αἰσχρίωνος
. . . . . κος	Τεισαμένου	Ἀριστόνικος Ἀριστάρχου
Ἀρτεμίδωρος	Ἀρτεμιδώρου	Ἀντιφῶν Κωμαίου
Ζώπυρος	Ζωπύρου	Κόρωνος Βέργωνος
. . . . πος	Ἡρακλείδου	Ζηνόδοτος Ζηνοδότου
. . . . λων	Ἀπολλωνίου	Περιγένης Σιμωνίδου
Ἀπολλᾶς	Κλέωνος	

No. 9.

(*From a pedestal in the Wool-factor's Hall.*)

Πόπλιον Οὐήδιον Παπιανὸν Ἀντωνεῖνον τὸν κράτιστον κληρονόμῳ χρησάμενον τῇ ἁγιωτάτῃ θεῷ Ἐφεσίᾳ Ἀρτέμιδι ἡ πατρὶς ἀνενεώσατο.

No. 9.

Publius Vedius Papianus Antoninus the most excellent, after he had made the most holy Ephesian goddess Artemis his heir, his country commemorated.

No. 10.

(*Found in a pier of the Coressian Gate, to which it did not originally belong.*)

ὡς ἀγαθὸν καὶ παῖδα καταφθιμένοιο λιπέσθαι,[1]
εἶπε μελιγλώσσων ἴδρις ὁ Πιερίδων·
τοῦτ᾽ ἐτύμως ἐπ᾽ ἐμοὶ, φίλε, κέκριται· ἂν γὰρ ἀνεῖλεν
μνάμαν ἁ κακία, παῖς πάλιν εἰργάσατο.
καλὰν δ᾽ ἐξσώζων[2] γενέτᾳ χάριν, οὐ βιότου φῶς
δεύτερον, ἀλλὰ κλέους ἦψ᾽ ἱερὸν βίοτον.
αἰνῶ Μουσάων σεμνὸν γένος, εἰς ἀρετὰν γὰρ
δῶκαν ἐμοὶ τέκνου ζῶσαν ἐϋφροσύναν.

[1] Hom. *Od.* iii. 196. [2] Sic on stone.

No. 11.

(*Found near the Magnesian Gate.*)

τὸ ὕδωρ
ἐκ τοῦ καινοῦ Μάρναντος
τοῦ εἰσαχθέντος ὑπὸ
Κλαυδίου Διογένους
Ἐπιμελητοῦ.

No. 10.

'How good a thing it is to leave behind a son when one is dead!' said the poet well versed in the sweet-tongued Muses. This, my friend, is judged to be true in my case; for the memory which malice had destroyed, a son again revived. And to show by a good act his lasting gratitude for his parent, he kindled for me, not indeed a second light of life, but an immortal life of fame. All praise to the revered race of the Muses! for they have given me a living delight in my child for his virtue.

An epigram to commemorate the victory of a son in some musical or poetical contest, and supposed to express the sentiments of a deceased father, whose memory had been traduced. The son had vindicated in his prize-poem the character of his father, and so given him, not a second lease of life, but a glorious restoration of repute. The contest was under the patronage of the Muses, who accordingly receive the grateful thanks of the father.

The inscription is in Doric.

No. 11.

The water from the new (River) Marnas,[1] brought into [the city] by Claudius Diogenes, Superintendent.

[1] The river Marnas is known from coins struck in the time of Domitian and Antoninus Pius.

No. 12.

(*From a small column found near the City Port.*)

καταυ . . . . . ῳ

Ἀδριανῷ Ἀντωνείνῳ

Καίσαρι Σεβαστῷ Εὐσεβεῖ

καὶ τῇ πρώτῃ καὶ μεγίστῃ

μητροπόλει τῆς Ἀσίας

καὶ δὶς νεωκόρου[1] τῶν Σεβαστῶν

Ἐφεσίων πόλει καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ

τὸ τελώνιον τῆς ἰχθυϊκῆς

πραγματευομένοις

Κομινία Ἰουνία

σὺν τῷ βωμῷ τὴν Εἶσιν

ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν,

πρυτανεύοντος . . . . ημ . . . . ατος.

[1] Should perhaps be νεωκύρῳ.

No. 12.

. . . . . to Hadrianus Antoninus Caesar Augustus called Pius,[1] and to the first and greatest metropolis of Asia, twice temple-warden of the Augusti, the city of the Ephesians, and to those who are engaged in the toll-office of the fish-market, Cominia Junia dedicates out of her own property this statue of Isis with the altar, ... holding the office of President of the Senate . . . . . .

[1] The Emperor Antoninus Pius.

No. 13.

(*Found in a building on the road to Magnesia ad Macandrum.*)

PAVLLVS. FABIVS. PERSICVS. PONTIFEX.
SODALIS. AVGVSTALIS. FRATER. ARVALIS.
. . . . . .

Paullus Fabius Persicus was consul A.D. 34.

No. 14.

(*Found in a bone-worker's shop near the Odeum.*)

τοῦτο τὸ ἡρῷον καὶ
ὁ ἀνετὸς τόπος ἐστὶν
Πομπωνίας Φαυστινῆς
κοσμητείρης τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος
ἀπὸ προγόνων, καὶ Μενάν-
δρου ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς. Τοῦ ἡ-
ρῴου κήδονται Αὐρέλιος
καὶ Νείκων καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἀπ-
ελεύθεροι Μενάνδρου
τουτου . . . . . οὐενετοῦ.

ζῇ.

No. 15.

. . . . . .

. . . . ιον Ἀραβικὸν Ἀδιαβηνικὸν Παρθικὸν Βρεταννικὸν Μέγιστον τὸν γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης δεσπότην, καὶ τὸν κτιστὴν τῆς πρώτης καὶ μεγίστης μητροπόλεως τῆς Ἀσίας δὶς νεωκόρου Ἐφεσίων πόλεως . . . . ἐν Ἰονίᾳ (?) . . . . τε . . . . . .

No. 14.

This sanctuary and this consecrated space is that of Pomponia Faustina, hereditary adorner[1] of Artemis, and of her husband Menander. The sanctuary is under the care of Aur[elius] and Neikon and the other freedmen of Menander of . . . . . She lives.

[1] Or 'tire-woman.' Perhaps one who dressed or decked the statue of the goddess.

No. 15.

L. Septimius Severus Pius (?) Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus Britannicus Maximus, lord of land and sea, and the founder of the first and greatest metropolis of Asia, the city of the Ephesians, which has been twice temple-warden[1] . . . . . in Ionia (?) . . . .

[1] This inscription certainly belongs to the Emperor Septimius Severus, in the last year of his reign, 210–1, when alone he bore the title Britannicus. See Höfner, *Zur Geschichte d. Sept. Sev.* p. 318. After δεσπότην καὶ we must certainly read something ending in *–ιστην*, probably *τὸν κτιστὴν*. Ephesus received great additions to its buildings from the Sophist Damianus (Philost., *V. Soph.* ii. 23), who stood high in favour with Sept. Severus (Suidas : cf. Guhl, p. 157 *f.*).

No. 16.

(*Found in an excavation near the site of the Temple.*)

Ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ·
Ξενόκριτος Ἀρίστεως εἶπεν· Ἐπειδὴ
Φίλων, Διονύσιος, Ἡρακλῆς, Μένιππος,
Ἐράμιοι[1] διατρίβοντες ἐν Ῥόδῳ, πᾶσαν
εὔνοιαν καὶ χρείαν παρεχόμενοι δια-
τελοῦσιν καὶ κοινῇ τῷ δήμῳ καὶ ἰδίᾳ
τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι τῶμ πολιτῶν καὶ
ὅταν αὐτοὺς ἕκαστος παρακαλῇ·
Δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ
ἐπαινέσαι τε αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ εὐνοίᾳ
ἣν ἔχουσι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ δεδόσθαι
αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκγόνοις αὐτῶν πολιτείαν ἐφ' ἴσῃ
καὶ ὁμοίᾳ καθάπερ τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐεργέταις
ὅπως πᾶσι φανερὸν . . . . . σίων
. . . . . ιος . . . . . αποτθιαν δια
ἐπικληρῶσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς εἰς φυλὴν καὶ χιλιας-
τὺν τοὺς Ἐσσῆνας, ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε

No. 16.

Resolved by the Council and the People.

Xenocritus the son of Aristeus moved: That whereas Philo, Dionysius, Hieracles, and Menippus, the Eramians,[1] living in Rhodes, continue to manifest all good will and service both to the people collectively and individually to those citizens who have intercourse with them, and whensoever anyone seeks their assistance: It has been resolved by the Council and the People to commend them for the good will which they entertain towards the city and to grant to them and their descendants the rights of citizenship on terms of perfect equality like as to its other benefactors; that it may be plain to all that . . . . . also that the Essenes, allot them a place in a tribe and a thousand, and that the temple-wardens inscribe this decree on a pillar of stone and set it up in the temple of Artemis, where also they dedicate the other grants of citizenship.

Admitted into a tribe as Epheseans, and into a thousand as . . . . . .

[1] The word is so written, but it does not appear to occur elsewhere. Ἐράννιοι however is found.

τὸ ψήφισμα τοὺς νεωποίας εἰς στήλην
λιθίνην καὶ στῆσαι εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς
Ἀρτέμιδος οὗ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πολιτείας
ἀνατιθέασιν· ἔλαχον φυλὴν Ἐφεσεῖς,
χιλιαστὺν . . . . . .

No. 17.

(*Found near the Magnesian Gate.*)

Earinus
Aug. Lib. Tabular.
Provinc. Asiae
. D . D .
κατευχὴν Ἐάρινος
Σεβαστοῦ ἀπελεύθε-
ρος ταβλάριος ἐπαρ-
χείας Ἀσίας
ἀνέθηκεν.

No. 18.

. . . . s. Procuratori Augg. nostrorum, item Praesidi Alpium Cottiarum et Maritimarum, Praefecto vehiculationis Pannoniae utriusque et Moesiae Superioris et Norici, Praefecto alae primae Asturum [?], Tribuno legionis XI. Claudiae, Advocato Fisci,

. . . . . .

adfinis Dominorum nostrorum Augustorum, ... cus, Augustorum Libertus [?], Adiutor tabularii Provinciae.

. . . . OR. ARK. MAGistrorum O.

No. 18.

In honour of ——, Procurator of our Lords the Augusti, and also [1] Governor of the Cottian and the Maritime Alps, Prefect of the [2] transport [posting] service of both the Pannonias and of Upper Moesia and Noricum, Prefect of the First Troop of the Astures (?), Tribune of the 11th [3] (the Claudian) legion, legal [4] adviser of the Privy Purse, [friend of [5] Publius Fulvius Plautianus,] connexion by marriage of our Lords the Augusti: this was erected by ——cus, Freedman of the Augusti, Assistant Registrar of the Province of . . . . . ., Master of . . . . . .

[1] 'Praeses Alpium' occurs often as a title in inscriptions.

[2] 'Praefectus vehiculorum' is also a common title.

[3] 'Claudia' is a very common title of the 11th Legion.

[4] 'Advocatus fisci' too is not unfrequent.

[5] Mommsen is undoubtedly right in saying that the name erased is that of P. Fulvius Plautanus, the notorious Praefectus Praetorii of Septimius Severus, and father-in-law of Caracalla, who married his daughter, Fulvia Plautilla, which made him 'adfinis Augustorum.' For after his disgrace and death, A.D. 203, his name is often found thus erased in inscriptions. The 'Augusti' therefore here spoken of are Septimius Severus and his son Caracalla.

No. 19.

. . . . . ἐγ μὲν τῆς	. . . .
δεξιῆς εἰς τὴν ἀριστερὴν	. . . .
πετόμενος, ἢμ μὲν ἀποκρύψει	ρ . . .
δεξιὸς, ἢν δὲ ἐπαρεῖ τὴν	ευ . . .
εὐώνυμον πτέρυγα, κἂν	εγ . . .
ἐπαρεῖ κἂν ἀποκρύψει,	ια . . .
εὐώνυμος, ἐγ δὲ τῆς ἀρισ-	ι ⁝ μ . .
τερῆς ἐς τὴν δεξιὴν πετο-	ι ⁝ μη . . .
μενος, ἢμ μὲν ἰθὺς ἀποκρ-	οντ ⁝ . .
ύψει, εὐώνυμος, ἢν δὲ τὴν	ο ⁝ αν . . .
δεξιὴν πτέρυγα ἐπάρας	ναι . . .

No. 19.

In flying (?) from right to left if the bird shall get out of sight (?), it is lucky, but if it shall raise its left wing, and whether it raises it or hides, it is unlucky; and if, in flying from left to right, it should get out of sight in a straight line, it is unlucky; but if raising the right wing . . . . .

This inscription appears to have been cut on the stone in columns. A few letters of the adjoining column to the right exist on the stone, but they are only sufficient to show that the same subject is continued.

POSTSCRIPT.

Additional note on Inscription from the site of the Temple of Diana, No. 7.

The subject of this inscription must be Annius Verus, the father of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius; and the marriage referred to must be that of his daughter Annia Cornificia, younger and only sister of Marcus Aurelius (J. Capit. *M. Ant.* 1), to a man of great wealth whose name is on good grounds assumed to have been Ummidius Quadratus (Haakh in Pauly, *Real-encyc.* v. 744), as that of their son undoubtedly was (Capit. 7). From the time that M. Aurelius was adopted as heir to the empire by Antoninus Pius in accordance with Hadrian's wishes, that is, from 139, such a marriage would be fitly called *βασιλεῖος*: and the name Verus is preserved in the fifth verse, the end of which may be *ἀνέθηκέ σε Οὐῆρον* as legitimately as *ἀνέθηκε Σεουῆρον*. In the fourth verse Verus is called 'father' of Quadratus, whereas he was in fact only father-in-law: but there is reason to think that the true relationship was described in the now mutilated prose heading. Πατέρα κηδε . . . . may be read as *πατέρα κηδεστήν*, which can only mean 'father by marriage;' *κηδεστής*, usually a son-in-law, denotes sometimes other relations by marriage, and once is employed where a step-father is the subject (Demosth. *Phorm.* p. 954); so that its combination with *πατήρ* would exclude ambiguity in either word. The father of Annius Verus was a distinguished man, twice consul, and city prefect (Capit. *M. Ant.* 1; cf. Dio Cass. lxix. 21). Annius Verus himself died in the praetorship (Capit. *ib.*), and at an early age. He must have been alive in 129, when M. Aurelius at the age of eight was received among the Salii (Capit. 4), for a fatherless son was not admissible (Borghesi, *Œuvres*, iv. 511); but he cannot have lived much longer, for M. Aurelius admits debts of virtue to him only indirectly through the 'reputation and memory' which he left behind him, not directly, as in the case of his grandfather and mother (i. 1, as rightly understood by Casaubon and others). The two surviving epithets in the inscription, 'a consular, a pontifex,' are such honorary titles as might naturally be bestowed under the empire on a person standing near the court. Of Annia Cornificia, who seems to have borne a third name Faustina, hardly anything is known: she is mentioned in two inscriptions (Orelli-Henzen, 5475, 5476: cf. Borghesi, iii.

241), and her name Cornificia passed to her niece, a daughter of M. Aurelius (Borghesi). On her marriage M. Aurelius gave up to her the whole of his father's fortune (retaining only his grandfather's) upon his mother's request that he would divide it; and further suggested to his mother that she might, if she pleased, bestow her own patrimony on his sister, that she might not be inferior in fortune to her husband (Capit. 4). At the time of the marriage M. Aurelius was apparently between fifteen and eighteen (Capit.), so that the date must be 136–139. At a later time, after his sister's death, M. Aurelius gave a share of his own mother's property (Capit. 7) to his sister's son Ummidius Quadratus. Spartianus (*Hadr.* 15) mentions an Ummidius Quadratus as persecuted by Hadrian; and Haakh points out that the wealthy husband of Annia Cornificia may easily have attracted the emperor's jealousy in his last years as a possible aspirant to the throne and rival of the successors chosen by Hadrian himself. For other Ummidii Quadrati, earlier and later, Haakh's article may be consulted.

As the marriage took place some two or three years before the adoption of M. Aurelius in 139, and the death of Annius Verus earlier still, the use of the term *βασιλεῖον* shows that the statue cannot have been erected immediately after either event. The poet Hadrianus, who erected it, must have been a freedman or other dependent of Annius Verus.

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